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OUR LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS

The profound influence of the announcement of the "good neighbor" policy made by President Roosevelt is truly remarkable. It struck a fundamental chord and found immediate response throughout the twenty republics south of the Rio Grande because of its sincerity and the spontaneous translation into positive acts. The Buenos Aires Conference in 1936 marked the dawn of a new era for the countries of the western hemisphere. The work begun there was furthered by the Conference of Lima in 1938. In September of this year there met in Panama, where Bolivar held the first Pan American Congress in 1826, the ministers of foreign affairs of the twenty-one American republics in accord with the provisions of the Treaty for the Maintenance, Preservation, and Reëstablishment of Peace. This was the first application in inter-American relations of the procedure of consultation. It is a forward step of the greatest significance in international coöperation in the western hemisphere.

The provision of the treaty under which the meeting was held is worthy of being quoted:

> In the event of an international war outside America which might menace the peace of the American republics, such consultation shall also take place to determine the proper time and manner in which the signatory states, if they so desire, may eventually cooperate in some action tending to preserve the peace of the American continent.[1]

[1] Report on the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics. *Congress and Conference Series*, No. 29 (Pan American Union), 2.

Political coöperation in the solution of common problems and the defense of mutual interests has become a reality.

More significant, however, because of its far-reaching effect is the creation of the Division of Cultural Relations in our Department of State established by order of July 27, 1938. Heretofore the material importance of our relations with Latin America has constituted the basic consideration and predicated our general attitude. Not until the announcement of the "good neighbor" policy has a marked change taken place. The American people have become conscious for the first time of the inherent values in the political and cultural heritage of Latin America. A realization is slowly dawning that differences in their political thought, their social outlook and their philosophy of life are not necessarily indications of inferiority. Very aptly has Dr. Ben M. Cherrington, Chief of the newly created Division of Cultural Relations, expressed the need for mutual understanding and respect.

> The peoples of the Americas must know and understand each other; their history, their outlook on life, their ideals and aspirations, their finest creations of mind and spirit—these must be shared in common.[2]

A wave of interest, of sincere desire to learn more about our Latin American neighbors is sweeping the country. Every public spirited citizen, every organization and club throughout the land is seeking information about our southern neighbors. A new conception of what has rightly been called "Greater America" is spreading, and an explanation is being demanded of those differences which characterize the two predominant civilizations in the New World, which but yesterday aroused either contempt or idle wonder. The history of Latin America is being diligently and intelligently studied in an earnest effort to understand Spanish civilization in the western hemisphere. Americans are approaching the subject with an open and sympathetic mind.

Fortunately, providentially we might say, a group of American scholars, under the distinguished leadership of men like Jameson, Bourne and Bolton, have dedicated themselves to the study of Spanish American history and the manifestations of Spanish

[2] Ben M. Cherrington, "The Role of Education in International Cultural Relations." *Inter-American Series*, No. 17, 6.

culture in the New World. They have attempted to interpret the civilization of Latin America, successfully in the main, and they have laid the foundation for the development of the interest which is finding expression today. Not until very recently, however, have Catholic historians in the United States entered the field, which in many respects offers them an unprecedented opportunity.

If there is one fundamental element that characterizes and differentiates the history and the philosophy of life of Spanish America, it is the rôle played by the Church. Next to the racial element contributed by Spain, the teachings of the Church formed, molded and created the spirit of the new race. Spanish American civilization cannot, therefore, be understood or adequately appreciated without a correct evaluation and interpretation of the religious factor that underlies it. Just as the spirit of the Middle Ages left its imperishable imprint on Gothic architecture, so did the fervent faith of the missionary leave its imprint upon the spirit of the races of Spanish America. First and last it is Spanish and Catholic. This fundamental fact cannot be wholly grasped by the non-Catholic historian, but it is the key to the understanding of many of the differences that otherwise appear unexplainable. Next to the language handicap, a lack of knowledge of the philosophy and the organization of the Church and its influence upon the resultant civilization is the greatest obstacle to an understanding of our southern neighbors.

Let us review briefly a few of the more significant facts. In discussing the general characteristics of "Greater America" Bolton explains that the policies of the English, the Dutch, the French, the Portuguese and the Spanish toward native races were similar, but very significantly he adds:

> In one respect the Indian policies of the Latin countries differed essentially from those of the Saxons. The Latins considered the Indian worth civilizing and his soul worth saving. This was due largely to the influence of the Church. So in Brazil, Spanish America, and New France the missionary played a conspicuous role. The Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and other orders labored on every border, and founded Indian missions and Indian schools.[3]

[3] Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America." *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 452.

It may be added that through this same influence, which springs from the fundamental Christian principle of the dignity of the human being, large groups of native populations were saved from complete extermination. It is these groups which today constitute one of the most serious drawbacks to the progress of several of the Latin American countries and makes their history fundamentally different from that of Anglo-America. Yet their presence is cited as the worst indictment against the Church. This large number of unassimilated natives is pointed out as proof incontestable of its failure to accomplish its task. No account is taken of the fact that, large as the number of missionaries is claimed to have been, it was obviously inadequate for the conversion and civilization of the numerous natives, nor that as time progressed the Church was interfered with and prevented from finishing her work. Only very recently have the independent governments themselves given serious attention to the problem.

It is equally significant that Latin American historians, even in countries like Mexico, recognize the full value of the civilizing influence of the Church. In 1936 Paula Alegría, a teacher in the University of Mexico, published a history of education. In the closing chapter she pays a glowing tribute to the work of the Church in this field:

> The education implanted [in the Spanish colonies] has an incalculable historical value. All that has been done since has its foundation in the principles inculcated then. These opened new avenues in the receptive mind of the Indian, gave direction to his artistic vocation, and developed a sublime desire for liberty in the spirit of the new race.[4]

Nothing is as difficult as to overcome traditional misrepresentation and the force of established public opinion. For centuries the colonial rivalry of European powers in America heaped abuse upon the Spanish system, preyed shamelessly upon its commerce, and enlisted religious prejudice as a powerful ally in the contest for supremacy. The tradition has persisted to our day, and even Catholics in the United States are sometimes prone to condemn

[4] Paula Alegría, *La Educación en México antes y después de la conquista*, 275

the Church in Spanish America through ignorance of the facts. The cruelty of the conquistadors, the luxury and corruption of the clergy and the exploitation of the native races by laymen and clergy alike have become inseparably associated and firmly established in the mind of the English-speaking world. Consequently the struggle for separation of Church and State that has characterized the period of independence of the various Latin American republics has been taken as an example of the just retribution reaped by the Church for its shortcomings. No account has been taken of the fact that this was but a natural and inescapable phase in the development of these countries and that the bitter denunciations hurled at each other by the contestants were comparable to the patriotic denunciations that characterized the struggle for independence in the English and the Spanish colonies alike.

Illiteracy, poverty, social injustice and backwardness have all been attributed to the Church. No one has stopped to ask what was the status of illiteracy at the time of the accomplishment of independence, nor how it compared with illiteracy in other European colonies at that time. No one has compared the progress made in this respect after independence, with or without the coöperation of the Church. No one has made a study of the administration by the Church of charitable institutions, hospitals and orphanages before and after independence to serve as a basis for comparison. No one has yet made a serious and impartial investigation in regard to the vaunted wealth of the Church to determine what were its sources, how it impoverished the native populations and how it was being spent either before or after independence. No one has shown the rôle which the Church played in the social evolution of Spanish America. Here then are fertile fields for research which are indispensable to a better and more complete understanding of Spanish American life.

Before leaving the subject it is well to remember that few have grasped the fact that in the struggle for the separation of Church and State in the various sister republics the attack has not been against religion or the teachings of the Church, except in a few instances, but against its representatives who unwisely meddled in politics. The matter has been clearly pointed out by Mecham:

> The basis for . . . opposition to the Roman Catholic organization—not the Roman Catholic religion—was largely political. The abolition of tithes, suppression of religious orders, confiscation of ecclesiastical property, and like measures, were as a rule acts of vengeance wreaked upon the clergy by their political opponents.[5]

A brilliant scholar of Spanish American culture, Francisco García Calderón, in his book, *The Creation of a Continent*, has pointed out emphatically that the whole structure of life in Latin America rests upon the teachings of the Catholic Church. "The statesmen of Latin America," he declares, "have always realized that Catholicism is inseparably linked with the new race."[6] The Catholic Church binds the races in a close and lasting tie. Only in the unity of the universal Church can all provincialisms be fused. The basic elements of Spanish American civilization are its language, its Spanish cultural tradition and its Roman Catholic faith. Here is the trilogy from which a new culture has sprung. The enthusiastic and lyrical exaltation of the native civilizations destroyed by the advance of the Spanish conquistador has suffered continually from overemphasis and a sentimental regret which facts do not warrant. The civilization of the Mayas had passed its zenith by the time of the conquest; the Aztec empire was held in abject submission by a more despotic ruler than the king of Spain ever was, one who demanded annual victims by thousands for the religious rites of the war god Huitzilopochtli, to whom they were sacrificed in orgies of blood; the empire of the Incas was torn with dissension. Left alone, even their most enthusiastic admirer will have to admit, the nature cultures would have had a long road to travel before they reached a stage comparable to that of Europe at the time of the conquest. Yet there are those who would have us believe that the native civilizations found by the Spaniards were comparable or perhaps superior to those of Greece and Rome!

On the other hand the native races, fused with the blood of the conquerors, nursed with the spirit of Christianity, raised to the dignity of equals, given the rich heritage of European civilization, slowly evolved into a new race. The bloody sacrifices of old were

[5] J. Lloyd Mecham, *The Church and State in Latin America*, 503.

[6] Francisco García Calderón, *La Creación de un Nuevo Continente*, 149.

replaced by the bloodless holocaust of the Mass; their rude instruments of labor were exchanged in the mission for the hoe and the plow, the spindle, the lathe, the brush and the chisel; their picture writing gave place to modern writing, the native dialects were reduced to grammars, and dictionaries were prepared; Spanish was taught and Latin was studied. Less than thirty years after the conquest in Mexico the secret informer of the king was able to report that Indian boys were being taught Latin so well that many of them spoke better than Cicero himself! All this work of civilization, of laying the foundations of a new race and a broad culture, was the work of the Church. A distinguished student of Spanish American psychology has said:

> The Spanish American mind is Catholic in religion and in politics. In this faith are found the roots of its mystic ardor, its profound Christian resignation, its sublime heroism.[7]

The idealism of the Latin American cannot be understood without a conception of his religion. To the Anglo-American mind, with its practical and realistic sense of values, the Quixotic extremes of a people who readily sacrifice future welfare to conscientious scruples, who believe in virtue, and who still have faith in impartial justice in a materialistic world are incomprehensible. But these characteristics are demonstrated daily in private and public life. Where do we find in modern history a more beautiful and perfect example of justice at the cost of genuine sacrifice comparable to that of the Regent Isabel of Brazil? In 1888, she voluntarily decreed the freedom of the slaves out of a sense of duty, knowing full well that the measure would alienate the support of the powerful land-holding aristocracy upon which the throne rested. The crown tottered and fell. The republic of Brazil was born. For the principle of human freedom she had sacrificed an empire.

Only a people imbued with the teachings of Christianity can face death with the magnificent abandon of Latin Americans. The fearless calm with which they meet the crises of life is the most eloquent tribute to the soundness of their religious instruction. Yet these traits that represent profound moral values elicit only pity or

[7] García Calderón, *op. cit.*, 155.

contempt. Those who attribute their backwardness to the inhibitions of religious instruction totally miss the point. "The moral rebirth of Spanish America can only be effected", declares García Calderón, "within the Catholic Church, the foundation of its traditional faith, the source of its ideology and customs, the preponderant influence that neither the humble Indian nor the proud Hidalgo can escape." [8]

In these facts are to be found the reasons why it will devolve upon Catholic historians in this country to interpret adequately the full import of a civilization which is distinctly Catholic, whose moral virtues spring from the teachings of the Church. Very appropriate are the words of Archbishop Goodier as to the inherent limitations of the historian in attempting to portray that with which he is not intimately acquainted or completely identified:

> Ignoring in the outlook of others what does not exist in their own [they] must necessarily give a warped, an incomplete . . . idea of the people of another generation, who are of totally different mentality." [9]

With the growing interest in Latin America, its history, its social phenomena, its economic development and future, numerous books have been published recently, covering these various phases of Latin American life. Many others are even now in the press. It is to be regretted that so many have been written hastily, without proper discrimination, and based on long standing misconceptions and errors. Some of these faults are traceable not to an intentional desire to misrepresent the facts or perpetuate error; rather they are the result of an inherent inability to understand the nature of the peoples whose civilization they attempt to interpret or explain. Here then is an opportunity without parallel for the American Catholic historian and scholar. As Belloc says, " For the Catholic the whole perspective falls into its proper order." [10] The Latin American field is being discredited among serious students of American history as a result of this promiscuous publication of facts and prejudices, of history and romance, of veiled religious

[8] García Calderón, *op. cit.*, 156.

[9] Archbishop Alban Goodier, S.J., *History and Religion*, 1.

[10] Hilaire Belloc, *Europe and the Faith*, ix.

condemnation and sectarian propaganda. We have an opportunity to contribute to the better understanding of our Latin American neighbors, an opportunity which is more than that, which is in fact a moral duty. If we, who have the light to illumine the darkened picture of misunderstood and derided Spanish civilization in America, are content to sit by and placidly smile at the grotesque picture, we are remiss in our duty.

In colonial days as well as in the days that followed the attainment of independence, the Church has constantly attempted to carry on its labor of civilization. Parish schools for the poor, private academies and colleges, seminaries, centers of study and public libraries have constantly been maintained and operated in spite of the struggle for the separation of Church and State and the definition and determination of their respective spheres of action. Contrary to general belief, the Church in Latin America has taken an active and interested part in the solution of the numerous social problems which the changing conditions of our modern age have brought with the spread of industrialization to rural and primitive societies. She has taken a deep interest in the working classes, in the poor, in the suffering and in the development of a sense of social justice compatible with the fundamental teachings of our faith. Under her leadership social study groups, Catholic labor federations, rural workers associations, urban and rural coöperatives, temperance societies, parent-teachers associations, young men's and young women's associations, national congresses of laborers, child welfare conferences and social welfare councils have been organized, established and operated for many years. The history of Catholic action and its influence on the social order of things in Latin America remains an unwritten chapter. Without it the picture of life in the southern republics during the nineteenth century is incomplete and incomprehensible. The shortcomings and alleged failures of the Church are pointed out on every hand; its good work, carried on quietly and without ostentation, remains unknown.

Among the most serious accusations is the lack of leadership and preparation among the members of the higher and lower clergy in Spanish America. Here again is a concrete example of the neglect

of Catholic historians in making known the truth so that a full and complete picture of the life of our neighbors may be made available in this country. Nothing is farther from the truth than this misconception, which unfortunately has gained acceptance even among the Catholics in the United States. Let us take for example our nearest neighbor, Mexico, and list briefly what the clergy has contributed to culture and scholarship during the last fifty years.

There is Crescencio Carrillo Rejón y Ancona, bishop of Yucatán, who deservedly obtained recognition as an outstanding historian with his publications on the early history of this province, the establishment of the Church, the civilization of the natives and the subsequent history of the Peninsula of Yucatán to the 19th century. His *History of Yucatán* is still the standard work of reference.

Doctor Fortino Hipólito Vera, first bishop of Cuernavaca, will always be remembered for the publication of the invaluable *Bibliotheca Hispano-americana Septentrional* of Beristain y Souza with additions and annotations. No one who has done work in the field of Mexican history of literature during the colonial period will deny the indispensable nature of this work of reference. But to his pen we owe also the *Itinerario Parroquial* of the archbishopric of Mexico, his account of the provincial councils of Mexico, the *Documentos Eclesiásticos Mexicanos*, an invaluable collection of sources, and his scholarly study of the Third Mexican Council, besides numerous other works which time does not permit us to enumerate. Every student of history, every person who has done any research in the Mexican field, is acquainted with his contribution to Mexican history and bibliography.

Francisco Plancarte y Navarrete, bishop of Campeche and later of Cuernavaca, who in his last years was raised to the dignity of archbishop of Monterey, was a distinguished archaeologist and a serious student of the civilization of the native races of the state of Morelos. His *Tomoanchán* is one of the best and most complete studies on the culture and life of the native races of Morelos. Exiled from his country during the days of persecution in 1926, he labored incessantly for over four years, not to upset the established order in Mexico, but on the history of Mexico before the conquest. There are many who still remember him in Chicago, where he was

a daily consultant of the treasures in the Newberry Library. He used the time of his exile to complete his notes for his monumental *Prehistoria de México,* a work which has been published since his death and hailed by critical historians as one of the best modern studies on the subject. It is of interest to note how he personally organized a prehistoric museum in Cuernavaca which rivaled in some respects that of Mexico. When Emiliano Zapata and his horde of frenzied followers entered the city, this was one of the first things they destroyed in their blind fury. Yet there are those who persist in maintaining that the Church is responsible for the destruction of all Mexican antiquities from the time of the good Bishop Zumárraga to the present. Bishop Plancarte y Navarrete found time in his busy life to build up a magnificent library in Monterey, but when the troops of Carranza captured the city, the archbishop's palace was ruthlessly sacked and all the books and manuscripts were either burned or sold as wrapping paper.

We have Ignacio Montes de Oca y Obregón, bishop of San Luis, an exquisite humanist, a finished linguist, thoroughly familiar with the principal modern languages as well as with Greek and Latin, who translated into elegant Spanish many of the classical authors. He was honored with membership in numerous literary and scientific societies in America and Europe and was an intimate friend of the dean of Spanish scholars, Don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. During his life he formed one of the best classical libraries in Mexico, which, like many others, fell into unappreciative hands and was scattered or destroyed.

Jose María Portugal y Serratos, bishop in turn of Sinaloa, Saltillo, and Aguascalientes, published numerous works on theology and obtained recognition as a serious student of philosophy. His treatise on *El Positivismo, su Historia y sus Errores* is a profound study, indispensable to the understanding of the influence which the philosophy of Comte has had upon Mexican education and thought.

The bishop of Veracruz, Don Joaquín Arcadio y Pagaza was a consummate poet of no mean ability, who has left us two volumes of poems that are a credit to the best inspiration among Mexican poets. He left in manuscript a beautiful translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* which still remains unpublished.

Emeterio Valverde Téllez, bishop of Leon, holds an eminent place among the students of philosophical schools in Mexico. His historical dissertations on the development of philosophical thought in Mexico constitute the best source for the study of Mexican ideology, and his bibliography of philosophy in Mexico remains the standard work of reference for the history of philosophy in that country from the sixteenth to the twentieth century.

Some may remember the archbishop of Guadalajara, Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, as fearless and uncompromising a defender of the Church as he was a deep and thorough scholar. A linguist, a historian and a philosopher, he found time in a busy and eventful life to publish an invaluable collection of documents for the history of the Church in Chiapas and Guadalajara, a continuation of the well known history of New Spain of Antonio de Solís, a life of the first Mexican martyr, Fray Felipe de Jesús, and numerous other works. He sponsored with characteristic enthusiasm the canonization of Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús, the saintly missionary who labored so faithfully in the missions of Texas, once under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Guadalajara.

The bishop of Querétaro, Francisco Banegas Galván, who died only a few years ago, wrote what is perhaps the best history of the struggle for independence in Mexico. The monumental work consists of two massive volumes in manuscript, of which one has recently been published in Mexico.

Equally impressive is the number of religious and seculars who have written on history, literature and science in the last thirty years, whether we take Mexico or Argentina, or Brazil or any other Latin American republic. Time does not permit, however, even the mention of their names. But here again is an opportunity for our Catholic scholars in the United States to make known to the people in this country the cultural contribution of the clergy in Mexico and the rest of Latin America.

> Great peoples, great civilizations, in the sense of positive historical value, are those who after their material disappearance leave behind the vibrant melody that springs from their spirit, those whose imperishable heritage persists throughout posterity.[11]

[11] Enrique Rodó, *Ariel*.

Well might we ponder upon this thought in this hour of world confusion, of racial and religious hatreds, when the moral values of life are made light of, when brute force and sordid interest threaten to destroy all those things we love and hold dear, when the very foundations of our social order are being shaken by strange and ruthless philosophies.

In this dark hour in the history of the world and in this season of the year when Christians everywhere commemorate the joyful tidings of peace proclaimed by the heavenly choirs on the hills of Judea, the spirit that should actuate us was beautifully expressed by our own Secretary of State. At the Lima Conference, on Christmas Eve, two years ago he pronounced these memorable words:

> All of us reach out, I know, toward peaceful and fruitful relations with all the rest of the world. Each of us has lines of sympathy and interest that traverse the globe more finely than the lines of latitude and longitude. Our bonds are strong with all who seek peaceful friendship and respect those principles of democracy, tolerance, and equality by which we live. The principles of conduct which we have adopted and are carrying out in our relationships with each other are equally open as a basis of relationship with all other countries. It cannot be fairly said that we are trying to shut ourselves off in a hemisphere of our own; any such effort would be futile. But it can be fairly said that the principles of conduct upon which the countries of this hemisphere have chosen to stand firm are so broad and essential that all the world may also stand upon them. Speaking for my country, we seek universal recognition and support for them. Were they adopted over all the world, a great fear would end. The young would see their future with more certainty and significance. The old would see their lives with more peaceful satisfaction.
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> There are those who think the world is based on force. Here within this continent, we can confidently deny this. And the course of history shows that noble ideas and spiritual forces in the end have a greater triumph. Tonight especially we can say this, for on this night nearly two thousand years ago there was born a Son of God who declined force and kingdoms and proclaimed the great lesson of universal love. Without force His Kingdom lives today after a lapse of 19 centuries. It is the principality of peace; the peace which we here hope in a humble measure to help to give by His grace to the continent of the Americas.[12]
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> CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

[12] *Inter-American Cultural Relations,* (U. S. Printing Office), 13-14.

THE RÔLE OF CATHOLIC CULTURE IN ECUADOR

From the beginning of Spanish rule in the region of Quito, in the early sixteenth century, the territory that is now called Ecuador was governed directly by the *conquistador,* Sebastián de Benalcázar, in the name of the Pizarros. With the establishment in 1548 of the viceroyalty of Peru, Quito was assigned to this jurisdiction, and in 1563, at the request of the *cabildo abierto,* the citizens of San Francisco de Quito obtained from Phillip II the *cédula* creating the Real audiencia de Quito. Colonial Quito included considerably wider territories than those which today constitute independent Ecuador. In addition to Quito, Cuenca, Loja, Zamora, Guayaquil and Portoviejo, there was also dependent upon the administration of the audiencia a vast area called Yaguarsongo, which embraced extensive territories in the oriental region, beyond the Andes.

Politically, the colony suffered numerous vicissitudes. In 1717 with the erection of the new viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, Quito was detached from its traditional moorings and placed under the new government. This situation lasted only until 1723 when Quito was once more placed under Lima and was restored as a full audiencia. In 1739 Philip V again brought the viceroyalty of Nueva Granada into existence and included Quito in the newly created jurisdiction, although allowing it to retain all of the prerogatives and rights enjoyed as an audiencia. A rather high degree of self government developed in Quito during the eighteenth century.

The intellectual and spiritual life of the colony in the century before independence has been spoken of as singularly placid—in contrast with the violent activity of the elements, manifest in the frequent devastating earthquakes which wrought untold destruction and misery throughout the presidency. Until the date of the expulsion of the Society of Jesus, the colony enjoyed a fairly active cultural life. A number of learned European teachers had come from Italy and France to teach in the Universities of San Gregorio and the Colegio Seminario de San Luis. Among the Jesuits, the

other orders and the secular clergy and laity, there were notable examples of learning and intellectual interest. This activity was sufficient to impress many of the distinguished European visitors who had occasion to penetrate Spanish America as far as Quito. Bouguer, La Condamine, Humboldt and others expressed considerable amazement at the degree of culture revealed by the eighteenth century *Quiteños.*

The well known *Noticias Secretas* of Juan and Ulloa speak extremely disparagingly of the state of learning in colonial Quito at the time they made the acquaintance of the audiencia. On the other hand, it it notable that many of the leading ecclesiastics were zealous partisans of instruction and of culture. Noteworthy among this company of intellectual stalwarts was José Peréz Calama, who, as bishop of Quito during the last decade of the century, revealed a keen interest in the stimulation of many forms of cultural life. He was responsible for the establishment of the *Sociedad de Amigos del País,* improved public instruction and advocated wider attention to the study of politics and economics. This active ecclesiastic introduced the most current volumes representative of European thought in important fields for distribution among the intellectuals of the capital.

The last years of the eighteenth century were distinguished by the activity of the most outstanding figure of colonial Quito, Dr. Francisco Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo, more commonly known as Dr. Espejo. Physician, writer and political thinker, he was by all odds the leading exponent of learning in the audiencia. No other name shines with quite the same brilliance during the decades which immediately preceded the outbreak in 1808, leading to the emancipation. In 1791 there was founded in Quito a society known as the *Escuela de la Concordia,* the moving spirit of which was Dr. Espejo. In this group were brought together most of the prominent figures of the day: literary men, teachers, theologians and others. A year later the publication was begun of the *Primicias de la Cultura de Quito,* the first journal of its kind to be issued in Quito. This literary effort was the victim of almost immediate persecution from the civil authorities. Within a short time, Dr. Espejo had been accused of sedition, imprisoned and

allowed to expire while still incarcerated. These events are evidence of the fact that on the eve of emancipation a fairly vigorous intellectual life was manifest in Quito, actively participated in by ecclesiastics as well as notable laymen. This literary agitation was the prelude to the movement of 1808 to which reference will be made shortly.

The cultural history of colonial Ecuador has often been represented as particularly dreary and uneventful. While the results of learning and scholarship may have been few, there was no dearth of activity. During the eighteenth century, besides the Universities of San Gregorio Magno and Santo Tomás de Aquino, there existed that of San Ildefonso under the direction of the Augustinians. This latter institution was suppressed when the doctorate in theology became a matter of payment with only the most perfunctory examination in the disciplines commonly demanded for that degree. As early as 1736, Father P. Magnin of the Society of Jesus was treating of Cartesian principles in his courses in philosophy. In this important field, Father Aguilar and Juan Bautista Aguirre were teachers of considerable note during this century. Later in the century, Father Sebastián Solano reintroduced certain elements of modern thought which were widely diffused in the institutions of higher learning in the colony.

Pedro Vicente Maldonado was one of the most illustrious of the company of scholars who gave distinction to the Quito of the late colonial period. This remarkable investigator and writer spent some years in France, the Low Countries and England, where he was received by learned bodies and academies as one possessed of solid knowledge in the field of the natural sciences. Juan Ullauri, of the Society of Jesus, Pedro Guerrero, Tomás de Jijón y León, Ignacio Chiriboga y Daza, Fray José Alava, Miguel de Uriarte y Herrera, Juan de Velasco are all names of outstanding importance in the development of the sciences and letters in the Audiencia of Quito. It would be impossible to list the many ecclesiastics and eminent laity who were devoted to the cultivation of some branch of learning. It is futile to deem colonial Quito devoid of intellectual activity or as a region where the arts and humanities had no vogue. The extremely vigorous cultural life of the last

century of colonial rule prepared the way for the transition to independence.[1]

The status of the Church in colonial Ecuador was the same, of course, as that in other portions of Spanish America. The spirit of the *Patronato Real*, which granted the civil authority an extraordinary intervention in the affairs of the Church, prevailed as the accepted system. The doctrines of Josephism and Jansenism were extremely influential in permitting the domination of the state even in those functions which belonged peculiarly to the Church. The trend in Spain itself was frankly hostile to the ancient prerogatives of the Church. The reign of Charles III was the period of Aranda, Campomanes, Roda and Floridablanca. The Spanish court was strongly tainted with Gallicanism, with the result that the Church came increasingly under the authority of the state.

The *Patronato* governed every relationship between the Church and the State. Although doctrinally uniform, the *Patronato* led the Church, and especially the hierarchy, to gravitate more toward Madrid than toward Rome, depending more on the Council of the Indies than on the Vatican.[2] So great was the obstruction of normal communication between Rome and the various dioceses of the Spanish-speaking world that Monsignor Guistiniani, nuncio in Madrid in 1825, complained to the papal secretary of state that "The laws of the Indies are so iniquitous as not to permit the bishops to forward to Rome the reports of their dioceses without the authorization of the supreme council of the Indies. The obstacles which have been placed in the way of the ecclesiastical authority in America are such as to bring about confusion in canon law and introduce into Spain a sort of Anglican supremacy."[3]

This situation was abruptly changed as soon as the wars of liberation broke out. The immediate effect of the war was to create

[1] One of the most stimulating collection of writings revealing the thought of one colony is *Escritos del Dr. Francisco Javier Eugenio Santa Cruz y Espejo*. Edited by Federico González Suárez (Quito, 1922-23, 3 vols.).

[2] P. Pedro Leturia, *La Emancipación hispano-americana en los informes episcopales a Pio VII. Copias y extractos del Archivo Vaticano* (Buenos Aires, 1935), 2-3.

[3] Quoted in Julio Tobar Donoso, *La Iglesia Ecuatoriana en el Siglo XIX* (Quito, 1934), 13.

a breakdown in the principle of authority, destroy many of the bonds between clergy and laity and hamper in innumerable ways the work of the Church. Moreover, the ecclesiastical relationships with Europe were cut off and it was left for the Church to keep alive in Spanish America the essential unity of purpose and of action which has always distinguished it. Under Spanish rule the *Patronato* had been exercised with some degree of normality; under the new regime of confusion, Spanish rule no longer existed and none other had been substituted for it. The essence of the question was: what was to become of the *Patronato*? Were the new republican governments which were springing up all over America to inherit the prerogatives and rights under the original *Patronato* or were new arrangements to be made in order to harmonize the interests of both Church and State? This was a very real problem and one which in Ecuador was not settled during the nineteenth century until the Concordat of 1862 during the presidency of Gabriel Garcia Moreno.

The movement that took place in 1809 in Quito and which is usually looked upon as the beginning of emancipation was participated in most actively by the clergy and religious orders. In other parts of the territory of Ecuador, the clergy played an active rôle in the movement toward separation. In Ibarra, for example, the local Junta included Father Luis Peñaherrera, parish priest of that city. In Quito members of the Mercedarians had been involved in the preparations for the outbreak in 1809 under the guidance of the prior, Fray Andrés Torresano. When the declaration of separation was made on August 10, 1809, Dr. José de Cuero y Caicedo, then bishop of Quito, immediately announced his support of the movement "as a means to preserve the Christian faith and loyalty to our king Ferdinand VII."[4] On the sixteenth of that same month the bishop met in the Augustinian chapel with many of the priests and religious to ratify the constitution of the Supreme Junta, and was named one of the vice presidents of this body.

The movement of 1809 in Quito was animated by the strongest religious sentiments. Dr. Manuel Rodríguez de Quiroga, in pro-

[4] *Ibid.*, 23.

claiming the steps taken by the junta to the people, insisted that these measures had been taken in view of the fact that the sacred law of Christ and the rule of Ferdinand VII has been persecuted and exiled from the Spanish peninsula and that in Quito an invincible fortress had been erected against oppression and heresy. This is rather strong evidence of the thesis so eloquently advanced by the French writer, Marius André, that the independence movement in America was a genuine reaction against the spirit of the French Revolution, which, in dispatching the forces of Napoleon to the peninsula, had placed both the mother country and the Catholic faith in jeopardy.[5]

Not only was the clergy actively engaged in the initial movement of 1809, but also in the revolt of 1810, so ill-starred both in inception and execution. One of the victims of this bloody encounter in which the patriots of Quito were suppressed was the priest, José Riofrío, whose blood was the first shed by an ecclesiastic for the independence of Ecuador. The bishop sought to intervene to prevent further bloodshed, urging Count Ruiz de Castilla, then governing in Quito, to allow the clergy to pacify the people, enraged at the use of force against him. In September Carlos Montúfar reached Quito as representative of the crown to seek the pacification of this area. In this case the bishop and members of the clergy played a significant rôle in the organization of a provisional government.

The declarations of loyalty to Ferdinand VII were no more than steps toward the proclamation of independence. In October of 1811, the Quito junta decided on this final and definitive step. The bishop accepted the honorary presidency of this new body. The first national congress of Ecuador, convoked in December of that same year, was attended by a goodly number of the clergy. In this assembly it was Father Miguel Antonio Rodríguez who presented a draft constitution which was adopted under the title of the "Pacto solemne de sociedad y union entre las provincias que forman el Estado de Quito."[6] In other words, a member of the

[5] Marius, André, *La Fin de l'empire espagnol d'Amerique* (Paris, 1922), 191 seq.

[6] Tobar Donoso, *op. cit.*, 27

clergy was the author of the first constitution of independent Ecuador. This document, approved on February 15, 1812, was strongly impregnated with the spirit of Catholicism. It provided specifically that the Catholic faith was to be the sole one in the new state. In this regard, the Constitution of 1812 may be compared to that of 1869, during the presidency of García Moreno, which reflected many of the viewpoints of this earlier document.

In June of 1812, Toribio Montes reached Guayaquil, charged by the Spanish crown with the restoration of the royal authority in the rebellious province. The junta at Quito at once took up measures for the national defense. The Church contributed with every means at its command for the defense of independence. Much of the income received for ordinary ecclesiastical purposes was destined to this end; and both the regular and secular clergy gave generously in support of the cause of emancipation. This should not imply, of course, that the Church was officially or unanimously behind the cause of separatism. There were many clergy in sympathy with the royalist cause, but it is significant to note to what degree the Church and its clergy participated most actively in the achievement of independent Ecuador.

Bishop Cuero y Caicedo took appropriate measures against the parish priests who were too vociferous in their support of the royal cause, separating some of them from their parishes. Many of the priests took service in the popular army as chaplains, and others actually bore arms against the Spanish army.[7] The patriot cause suffered grievously during October, and finally on November 8 General Montes entered Quito, a city abandoned by many of its inhabitants and by its bishop.

Ecuador entered upon a period of extraordinary confusion after these incidents. The flight of Bishop Cuero y Caicedo had left the country bereft of spiritual guidance. Montes threatened the escaped ecclesiastic with dire consequences as a result of his espousal of the patriot cause. The Spanish authorities sought to recreate the state of affairs that had prevailed before 1810. A new

[7] *Ibid.*, 31. Among the clergy engaged in the fighting were: Antonio Román, José Pérez, Tadeo Romo, Ramón Alzamora, Manuel Arias, Fray Francisco Sea, Mercedarian; Fray Ignacio Bossano and Luis Cevallos, Franciscans; and Fray Antonio Bahamonde, Augustinian.

episcopal functionary was named, Dr. Sotomayor, and recognition was refused to Dr. Tejada, who had been authorized by Cuero y Caicedo to represent him. The result was a bitter and virulent conflict between the two authorities, in detriment to the spiritual interests of the nation. The clergy, of course, divided according to sentiments, created in the popular mind the worst kind of confusion and doubt. Bishop Cuero was destined to remain in exile the rest of his life, the most noteworthy ecclesiastical martyr to the cause of independence in Ecuador.

It would be tedious to list the names of the clergy who suffered persecution, confiscation of their properties and exile for their convictions as regards independence. Dr. Julio Tobar Donoso in his excellent study, *La Iglesia ecuatoriana en el siglo XIX*, devotes considerable attention to this aspect of the emancipation period. Devotion to the royal cause was, in many cases, sufficient reason for remuneration, for honors and for advancement. This situation created a singularly difficult problem: that of two groups among the clergy, the one persecuted or at least neglected, the second because of its political conviction, the recipient of ecclesiastical preference. This was an additional reason for the breakdown of discipline among the clergy, already severely tried by the *Patronato Real*. From 1812 to 1822 this abnormal situation continued. The existence of division, the absence of the bishop and the restrictions placed even on the activities of the Church for political reasons, led to the complete disintegration of Catholic life in Ecuador. Vocations for the priesthood were few and facilities were virtually absent for the carrying out of studies in philosophy or theology. In 1811 the chair of moral theology was abandoned in the Seminario de San Luis, due to lack of funds. The University of Santo Tomás, heretofore in the hands of the Dominicans, languished for the same reason. There was no opportunity for new recruits, and standards of piety and personal discipline declined.

On January 4, 1816, the Ayuntamiento of Quito authorized the taking of appropriate steps to restore the Society of Jesus to its functions in Quito. The President of the municipal assembly signed this request and many residents of Quito actually made donations to bring the Jesuits back to the country. The feeling was

well nigh unanimous that, since the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767, there had been a marked decline in the integrity of learning, in the seriousness of academic life and in the zeal and piety of the masses of the people.

Needless to say this fervent petition brought no results. This condition of affairs continued until the definite achievement of independence with the Battle of Pichincha in 1824. Just as the Church had contributed powerfully to the gaining of independence, in like manner it was now called upon to bear its full burden of the responsibilities of independence. For six years after 1824, Ecuador formed a part of the Greater Colombia and was subject to all of the vicissitudes and difficulties which beset the attempt of uniting Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador.

The year 1826 marked the apex of the Greater Colombia. From that date on the process of disintegration set in. The popularity of the Libertador, which had led the mass of citizenry up and down the Andes literally to deify him, was in decline. The elaborate structure of the state which he had created was unable to resist the discordant and conflicting elements that beset it. In Venezuela and in Ecuador antagonistic forces were at work. In Bogota, the partisans of Bolivar found themselves in sharp conflict with those who supported General Santander. Bolivar had hoped that the magic of independence would be sufficient to allay the natural and inevitable trend toward separation. It was quite clear that the three great divisions of Colombia were heterogeneous and ill-suited for union. While General Paez made active plans for the secession of Venezuela, Ecuador continued in relative peace. The southern provinces were far from satisfied, however, with the artificial arrangement. There was resentment at the administration from Bogotá, bitterness that laws and edicts should emanate from that distant capital and that local pride should be neglected. The intense regionalism of the Ecuadorean provinces made them a fertile field for irritation. The personality of Bolivar was all that held them together. From 1826 until his disillusioned death at Santa Marta four years later, the forces of separatism were actively at work.

In Quito a restlessness had gripped the population. General Flores, the local commandant, was a Venezuelan, serving in the south as emissary of Bolivar. His position in view of the separation of Venezuela was definitely ambiguous. Venezuela was an independent state, no longer connected with Colombia. As such, Flores himself was an alien in the land to which he had given the best years of an active and brilliant career. It was logical that in the general trend toward collapse, General Flores should seek to salvage the south and turn away from Bogotá. He could count not only on his personal inclinations, but on the spirit of defection which had seized the inhabitants of that region. Profiting by this sentiment, the resignation of Bolivar and the alarming news which was coming from Venezuela, the decision for separation was made. Flores, as prefect of the south, in collaboration with the Council of Quito, drew up the articles of separation. On May 13, 1830, in the *Aula magna* of the University of Quito, the formal declaration of independence was made and Ecuador became a sovereign state. The other municipalities of the ancient audiencia of Quito quickly followed suit. Cuenca, Riobamba, Ambato, Latacunga, Loja, Ibarra and Guayaquil, all joined in declaring the bonds with Bogotá severed. Bolivar wrote from Santa Marta, under date of July 1, burdened with anxiety for the future of Colombia and lamenting the step which had been taken. Coupled with this reluctance to approve the dissolution of Colombia, the Libertador was full of praise for the valor and integrity of General Flores. With stoicism he accepted the destruction of his dreams.

Ecuador was born under a series of adverse circumstances. The declaration of separation left a number of questions unsolved. Principal among them was the matter of the frontiers. A glance at the map will reveal that the Republic of Ecuador is wedged in between Colombia and Peru in such a fashion as to make difficult a natural and clear cut boundary on either north or south. The fact that the three southern provinces were not bound together by the natural ties of geographical unity complicated immeasurably the creation of the nation. On the south, Loja was naturally inclined toward Peru, with which communication was vastly easier than with the inaccessible Quito. Guayaquil was open to the sea,

with an ease of access to the coastal plain that isolated it from the interior highlands. On the north, the region of southern Colombia, known as the Cauca and the seat of the flourishing cities of Pasto and Popayan, had been, even in colonial times, more dependent on Quito than on Bogotá. When the events of 1830 occurred, this region quite logically followed the lead of the authority of Quito. It was doubtful, however, that Bogotá would recognize this large scale dismemberment of its territories.

General Flores received the supreme authority over a poverty stricken and backward territory. Ever since 1809, with the exception of the artificially tranquil years after the Spanish restoration of 1812, Ecuador had been witness to the constant march of troops, the continued clash of arms and the repeated incursions of royalists and separatists. With the cessation of hostilities, a state of exhaustion set in. The tension of fifteen years of war gave way to a moral and material collapse.

Let it be emphasized once more that one of the important causes of the separation from Colombia was the anxiety felt in Quito regarding the religious policy of many of the statesmen in Bogotá.

From the beginning of actual independence, the clergy played a rôle in harmony with the zeal displayed in gaining independence. At the constituent assembly in August of 1830 at Riobamba, 5 of the 21 delegates were priests. In the constitution adopted at this gathering, the opening article on religion specified, "it is the duty of the government under the *Patronato* to protect the Church to the exclusion of all others." [8]

What appears at first glance to be the privileged status of the Church is, obviously, nothing else than a perpetuation of the traditional state control. In 1835, under the second constitution, no mention was made of the *Patronato,* although it was specifically stressed anew in the constitution of 1843 during the régime of General Flores. The problem was by no means solved since the whole relationship between Ecuador and the Holy See was based on the uncertain and unstable foundation of the *Patronato,* which, in this case, was not the outcome of an agreement or understanding between Rome and the republican government.

[8] Jijón y Caamano, J., *Documentos para la historia* (Quito, 1939), IX.

The results of the *Patronato* during the years from 1830 to 1862 were so disastrous as to bring dangerously close the collapse of the Church in Ecuador. The abnormal situation prior to the concordat may be described with a number of examples. The congress of 1833, for example, forbade that national ecclesiastics communicate with the Apostolic See. In 1843, the constitution tacitly allowed the private existence of non-Catholic sects. The article in question caused a furor. The clergy was again divided, some refusing absolutely to take the oath to the constitution. The venerable cleric, Dr. José Miguel Carrión y Valdivieso, revered for his apostolic zeal, suffered the severe persecution of the government for his refusal to sanction the new law. The Church declined with alarming rapidity during these thirty two years. Many of its properties were confiscated, laxity of discipline prevailed among the clergy, and dioceses were left without bishops, to the detriment of their spiritual welfare. Cuenca, for example, was without a bishop for thirty years, since the government was disinterested in his nomination.

Up to 1862 more or less steady relations with the Vatican had been maintained. Ever since the days of the Great Colombia, a representative had been stationed at Rome. In 1840, General Flores had set up a legation there, and under Roca this delegate was raised to the dignity of minister. There had been some talk of a concordat at the time of the reform, but the Ecuadorean government had insisted that any concordat that could be signed must be based strictly on the terms of the *Patronato*. In other words, the reform could come, but only by the perpetuation of the very thing that prevented a reform.

In 1851, General Urbina had presented a candidate for the bishopric of Guayaquil. It happened that this particular individual, Dr. Cayetano Ramírez Fita, did not merit the approval of the Vatican. He was a close friend of Urbina, and the president was evidently playing politics in the selection of the new bishop. Urbina demanded an apology from the Vatican and, when he did not receive it, broke diplomatic relations with the center of the Catholic world. Ecuador was left without contact with Rome. This was the status until García Moreno took office and initiated negotiations for the Concordat in 1861.

The concordat was signed on the first day of May, 1862, between Monsignor Ordoñez and Cardinal Antonelli. Toward the middle of June the Ecuadorean envoy returned to Guayaquil and late in September the final draft of the document was signed with the exchange of signatures in March of the following year. The concordat was the object of the bitterest controversy in the congress, but the triumph of García Moreno in this matter guaranteed that for a period of years the relations between Church and State in Ecuador were perfectly normalized.

The evils of the *Patronato* were removed. The Church was free in its communications with Rome; the ecclesiastical authority was at liberty to convoke councils and synods. Much attention was paid to the important matter of ecclesiastical tribunals and tithes. The ecclesiastical courts with adequate jurisdiction were guaranteed, as was the appeal to Rome in given cases. This was no rarity, for the major part of the suits at law which were carried to these tribunals dealt with such matters as the sacraments, especially matrimony, clerical functions and the like. A third of the tithes collected by the Church were destined for the government, and in this matter the State intervened with its own representative. It was granted that the president could propose for the hierarchy worthy clerics from a list submitted to him. Hence the State was still to have authority over the filling of the more important Church offices. The same concession applied to certain other offices, as prebends, canonries, etc. Further details concerning property, mortgages and the like were included. A prayer for the welfare of the republic and the president was specified.

With the disappearance of García Moreno in 1875, Ecuador fell prey to the most violent political controversy. The conservative and liberal elements displayed a high degree of aggressiveness in combating each other. The liberal triumph has been spoken of by one outstanding historian of the republic as the *Kulturkampf ecuatoriano*.[9] Opposition to the Concordat accompanied this reaction, and it was evident that under the administration of General Ventimilla a serious attempt would be made to do away with this arrangement. On June 28, 1877, the president signed the decree

[9] Le Gouhir, José María, *Historia de la República* (Quito, 1939), 51-84.

suspending the concordat and declaring that the *Patronato* of July 28, 1824, was again in force. This state of affairs lasted until 1880 when Ventimilla entered into negotiations with the Holy See and, through the good offices of Monsignor Mario Mocenni, apostolic delegate to Peru, secured a revised Concordat, signed in October of that year, and which does not differ materially from the earlier one of 1862. The religious problem became, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, inextricably confused with the political evolution of Ecuador. The result has been that liberal and conservative parties, according as they have occupied power, have treated the principles of the concordat in terms of their own party program.

In the realm of scholarship and learning, Catholic leaders have contributed generously to the cultural life of Ecuador during the past century. It would be difficult in the limited space available to do more than illustrate rapidly the scope and breadth of the Catholic rôle in the cultural evolution of the republic. In the long line of men of letters and of science in the republic, both clergy and laity have always had a significant and important part. A few names may be selected at random to illustrate this statement. Among the ecclesiastics who shed luster on the republic during the first half of the last century were Dr. José Ignacio Moreno, who was born in Guayaquil and died in Lima in 1841. Attached to the cathedral of the Peruvian capital, this spokesman of Catholic thought was one of the most fecund and active apologists of the Church, who in his *Cartas Peruanas* responded to most of the errors of his day, derived from the writings and thought of Voltaire. A second work, the *Ensayo sobre la supremacia del Papa, especialmente con respecto a la institución de los obispos*, became one of the great monuments of solid ecclesiastical scholarship in America. Moreno was especially concerned with combating the doctrines made popular by Villanueva and Pradt and which had gained vogue among so many of the cultured classes in the New World.

A second figure occupying a position of singular importance in the history of Ecuadorean letters is Fray Vicente Solano of Cuenca, a Franciscan and a humble priest throughout his life. There is perhaps no man of letters of the middle of the last century who so

adequately sums up the intellectual development of the republic. Solano's influence was extraordinary. He was distinguished very particularly in the field of journalism, in a number of papers which appeared in Cuenca: *El Eco del Azuay, El Telescopio, La Alforja, La Paz, El Seminario Eclesiástico, La Razón, La Luz*, etc. The journalistic writings of Fray Solano were theological, political and literary, with the political perhaps the most prominent.

The history of republican Ecuador cannot of course be treated without reference to Gabriel García Moreno, the greatest president of the republic and one of the few strictly Catholic statesmen produced in South America. For over twenty years prior to his death in 1875, García Moreno was one of the most vigorous and prolific defenders of Catholic principles in Ecuador. His writings of an apologetic character are numerous and his work as a whole is intimately bound up with the Church itself. The background of his presidency has already been described in treating briefly of the concordat.

Within the ecclesiastical order, the name of Fray José María Yerovi y Pintado cannot be omitted from this galaxy of leading figures who represent the essence of the Catholic contribution to the cultural evolution of Ecuador. Born in 1819, this outstanding ecclesiastic honored the national parliament, the university and the episcopal sees of Ibarra and Quito with his presence. He was called to the service of the republic in 1865 to aid in the reform of the clergy initiated by García Moreno. As bishop of Ibarra and as a member of the episcopal see of Quito, Monsignor Yerovi was one of the most brilliant adornments of the Ecuadorean Church. Nor would it be possible to omit from this list of great ecclesiastics the names of José Ignacio Checa y Barba, archbishop of Quito, and José Ignacio Ordonez, sixth occupant of the same archiepiscopal see.

One of the great glories of Catholic thought in Ecuador was Federico González Suárez, archbishop of Quito, and probably the most distinguished man of letters in the hierarchy of the republic. Nicolás Jiménez, his biographer, has observed that there are perhaps no more than five or six personalities in the history of Ecuador who merit a biography but that in any selection made, on no matter

what basis, it would of necessity include González Suárez. His life covers the entire second half of the nineteenth century and seventeen years of the twentieth. His birth occurred during the régime of President Flores when the intellectual and spiritual state of the republic was at a low ebb. He was educated at a time when the Jesuits were expelled from the republic after their brief return during the presidency of Roca. He experienced the chaotic and badly organized system of instruction which endured until the beginning of the presidency of García Moreno. He was a young priest in Cuenca when the great Catholic president was assassinated. His panegyric on the occasion of the death of García Moreno is one of the memorable pieces of his career. It is as an historian that González Suárez occupies a prominent place in the culture of the republic. His monumental *Historia de la República del Ecuador* is known wherever students have occasion to consult the bibliography of that republic. His rôle was that of the initiator of historical studies in the country, as he was the first to go directly to the Spanish archives, obtain his sources first hand and write the record with a thorough knowledge of these materials. He was fearless and unswerving in his devotion to historical truth as he saw it. His fourth volume of the *Historia* dealt with the state of several of the religious orders during the colonial period, a topic which won for him the animosity of many of his fellow countrymen. He presented the truth as he found it and did it courageously. His complete vindication in later years was testimony to the integrity of his purpose. Monsignor González Suárez intervened frequently in the political life of the republic. Refusing to affiliate himself with any one of the political parties, he maintained an absolute independence which won for him the respect and universal admiration of his people. In 1895 the conservatives were turned out of power and the triumphant liberals under Eloy Alfaro assumed control of the state. Simultaneously with this event, González Suárez was consecrated bishop of Ibarra. His episcopal duties brought him in contact with the anti-clerical element in power. His indefatigable devotion to duty, his abnegation and his high souled patriotism endeared him to friend and foe alike. González Suárez is the greatest monument to Catholicism in the second half

of the nineteenth century in Ecuador. No one did more to make the Catholic Church an integral and effective part of the cultural and spiritual life of the republic than he.

It would be useless to attempt a catalogue of the outstanding Catholic leaders who have appeared in Ecuador during the past seventy or eighty years. Suffice it to say that Catholic thought has permeated every aspect of the life of Ecuador, manifesting itself in the profane as well as in the sacred field. Laymen of the character and stature of Pablo Herrera, a statesman of the first order, Juan Leó Mera y Martínez, one of the glories of the Spanish language, and Dr. Remigio Crespo Toral, whose recent death has deprived Ecuador of one of its outstanding men of letters, were leaders of Catholic thought. Father Mariano Acosta gained fame as an exponent of Catholic doctrine in the social field; Father Julio María Montovelle of Cuenca may well be considered as one of the forerunners of Catholic Action through the number and intensity of his activities on behalf of Catholic social work. Father Manuel José Proaño, S.J., was one of the great pulpit orators of modern Ecuador, a man of the deepest piety and most profound learning, famed for the brilliance of his spoken word, which was invariably devoted to the cause of the Church. Father José María Le Gauhir y Rodas, S.J., one of the most conscientous and scrupulous of contemporary Ecuadorean historians, has a most suggestive account of what he terms *Glorias Ecuatorianas*, in which the deeds of these and many more figures of colonial and republican Ecuador are sketched briefly.[10]

One of the great contributions of the Church to Catholic culture in Ecuador has been the work of the missions. As has been observed by Dr. Tobar Donoso, the missionaries were not only agents seeking the souls of the Indians of the Oriente of Ecuador, but were also the builders of the nation and the architects of the republic's claims on that vast area lying beyond the Andes. In this dual rôle, the labors of the missionary fulfilled a two-fold purpose: a purely spiritual one and a civil or political one.

The expulsion of the Jesuits left the missions in the Oriente in a deplorable state. Franciscans, Mercedarians and others were de-

[10] Le Gouhir, José María, *Glorias Ecuatorianas* (Quito, 1935).

tailed to carry on this work with varying success. Late in the eighteenth century the Dominicans undertook the work in the missions of Canelos. During the confusion of independence, the merest gesture was made to keep the missions alive. Between 1828 and 1835 the Franciscans and Dominicans engaged in transitory missionary labors which were suspended in 1835. During the presidency of Rocafuerte, the direction of the missions of Canelos were entrusted to secular priests. By 1837 the bishop of Quito had designated a number of earnest missionaries, among them Father Juan Antonio Checa as Vicar accompanied by several other priests. Monsignor Arteta, then bishop, attempted to fill as many of the missions as possible with at least temporary appointments. The missions of Quijos and Avila as well as that of Macas were maintained in this form. General Flores displayed commendable interest in the missions during his term of office. The president sought to fill the posts with religious, but failed to secure the coöperation of any of the communities. The lack of material resources was one of the real perplexities in connection with the vast missionary work which the conversion of the Oriente represented. The new bishop of Mainas, José María de Arriaga, demanded of Quito in 1840 that a collection be taken up for the maintenance of the missions and of the recently established *Sociedad de Propagación de la Fe* in Lima. The era of strife and confusion after 1845 left the government little time for the support of the missions. Monsignor Ateta above all strove consistently to maintain them on as high a plane as the tight circumstances of the times permitted.

The full restoration of the oriental missions was not achieved until García Moreno became president. The return of the Society of Jesus stimulated both this important activity and the development of higher education in the republic.

The concordat of 1862 had placed upon the government the obligation of maintaining and extending the missions in the Oriente. Soon after the organization of this territory, Padre Vicente Daniel Pastor was named vicar general in 1867, but it was not until 1869 that the first steps were taken for the reëstablishment of the missions themselves. It was in 1867 that the Ecuadorean government decided that civil rule was impossible in this region. Minister

Bustamante in his report to the congress of 1867 at the time Espinosa was president, argued that most of the government functionaries were guilty of the most heartless exploitation of the indigenous population and in consequence it was clear that the Oriente could not be governed by common law. He urged that the religious be returned as in colonial times. The Jesuits began the work of restoration. Father Andrés Justo Pérez, a Spaniard, Luis Pozzi, an Italian, and Ambrosio Fonseca, a Colombian, and Manuel Guzmán, an Ecuadorean, were the first to begin in regular reëstablishment of the missions. Much that had been lost was recovered. Old missions were restored. Ruins were reconstructed and reopened. Indian communities that had been broken up were brought together again and new neophytes added. In a few years the missions were in a flourishing state.

There is no question that the acme of Catholic thought in Ecuador was reached under García Moreno. Numerous administrations have taken from his times certain aspects of the program, but none were applied as integrally or completely as during the epoch from 1861 to 1875. A brief description of the work achieved under García Moreno in the field of education will indicate to what degree his presidency was one high point of the nineteenth century. The structure of the new educational system was in the form of a pyramid, whose base was the vast program of primary instruction. The major portion of the edifices constructed were destined for boys' schools. The president did not neglect, however, public instruction for women. In Quito, Riobamba, Cuenca and Guayaquil, schools were opened for girls. High schools were established under the Sisters of Providence in Quito and Latacunga. The various religious communities devoted to works of charity, such as that of the Good Shepherd, also aided in the furtherance of education, especially among the underprivileged classes. In four of the cities of the republic were important orphanages, which fitted in too, with the broad program of industrial and manual arts education. This type of work under the Sisters of Charity may be judged from the program of studies of the Sacred Heart Convent in Quito, which is more or less typical. In this establishment, the program included, religion, reading, geography, physics, natural history,

history of Ecuador, French, English, sewing, piano, embroidery, drawing and the domestic arts. A program of study could scarcely be more complete. In the San Carlos school, established in 1871, four hundred indigent girls were educated. The government maintained an extraordinary number of such institutions, each endowed by the state and destined for the preparation of girls in the crafts and arts of ordinary life. The Church coöperated actively in this labor. Bishop Ordóñez of Riobamba, for example, was one of the most diligent supporters of the government program for the education of the indigent classes. In other cities the hierarchy granted money, lands and aid of every kind for the work.

Interesting as is this program of primary education, and significant as it is, constituting an abrupt departure from the easy indifference of preceding administrations, the most remarkable achievement of President García Moreno is in the field of higher instruction. Here his genius flowed most abundantly. The ancient University of Quito, of colonial fame, had been abolished in order to make way for a more substantial structure. Without disregarding the humanistic studies, the president exerted all effort to equip the republic with an adequate system of scientific instruction. The creation of a modern Faculty of Medicine was the first care During the spring of 1874 García Moreno secured the services of Dr. Dominique Domecq, of the University of Montpellier in France. This competent physician was to take the chair of anatomy in the newly organized School of Medicine. Another European scientist, Dr. Esteban Gayraud, was brought to America to instruct in surgery. In addition there were a number of Ecuadorean specialists placed under the direction of these mentors. Dr. Domecq performed inestimable services in the cause of the advancement of medicine in Ecuador. He established an anatomical laboratory, with instruments and materials purchased by the national government. Together with Dr. Gayraud, he labored to advance the knowledge of the medical problems of the republic: leprosy, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, and he promoted the study of numerous plants of the republic for curative purposes. García Moreno set no limit to the expenditure for scientific equipment. It was his purpose to create in Quito a medical center unexcelled on

the entire continent. The competence of the men he brought from Europe is attested by the fact that upon the collapse of the régime Dr. Domecq returned to teach at the University of Lille, and Dr. Gayraud became Head of the General Hospital of Montpellier. The president contributed directly to the bringing of Mme. Emilia Sion, graduate in obstetrics, for the foundation of a maternity hospital. This establishment was created and equipped with a completeness that astonished those who visited it. Medical publications, journals and research reports flowed into Ecuador. Dr. Domecq, years later in describing the projects of García Moreno on behalf of the medical progress of Ecuador, praised him for the soundness of his vision and the efficiency of his actions.[11]

Even more brilliant than the creation of the medical center was the establishment of the Polytechnic School, which was the successor of the University of Quito. Its purpose was to prepare men for a number of professions that had scarcely existed heretofore in Ecuador: engineers, machinists, architects, teachers and investigators and researchers in the various fields of the natural sciences. The higher instruction offered in the Polytechnic School was based on work given in the preparatory department connected with it. This instruction was imparted entirely free and there was no charge for courses, matriculation or graduation.

The work of this school was made possible through the events of 1870. When the *Kulturkampf* of Prince Bismarck led to the expulsion of the Jesuits, there were a vast number of competent teachers and investigators deprived of the opportunity of continuing work in their specialized field. García Moreno was quick to take advantage of this state of affairs and in September of 1870 he drew up a contract or agreement with the superior of the Jesuits in Ecuador, Father Agustín Delgado, whereby the Society of Jesus would allow the transfer of a number of its members from Germany to the new world to staff the newly organized Polytechnic school. The salary which was to be granted to these professors was six hundred pesos a year, an amount that would have been almost ludicrous for others than the members of a religious community. The result was that Ecuador obtained the services for a number of

[11] Tobar Donoso, *García Moreno y la Instrucción Pública* (Quito, 1923), 227.

years of men of the first category among the scientists of Europe. The talent with which the German Jesuits adapted themselves to the new condition was remarkable. Men of mature years, able and laborious scientists, suddenly expelled from the homeland, they were forced to take up residence in a new and startlingly different atmosphere. Within a very short time the linguistic difficulties were overcome and the Jesuits were teaching and writing in Spanish. In addition to the small salary, there would be ample funds for the laboratories and expeditions which would follow the arrival of the exiles. Another of the projects dearest to the heart of the president was the creation of an astronomical observatory, in view of the peculiarly favorable conditions, natural and climatological, of Ecuador. This, too, was to depend upon the Jesuits who had been contracted.

With his habitual impatience, García Moreno insisted that the Polytechnic school be formally opened in the autumn of 1870. In March of the following year the Ecuadorean consul in France spent one hundred thousand francs for the purchase of a chemical laboratory and materials for instruction in mineralogy and mine practice. During the course of 1870 the first of the Jesuits reached Ecuador. Among them were Fathers Menten, Theodore Wolff, the great geologist and geographer, and Louis Sodiro. During the following year there arrived others: Louis Dressel, Louis Heiss, Josef Colberg, Josef Epping, Christian Boetzkes and Emil Mullendorf. In 1874, Father Clement Faller reached the republic to take over the direction of the school. Not all of the staff were Jesuits. Some were laymen, notably Jacob Elbert, secured by García Moreno for instruction in architecture, and Nicholas Grunewalt for civil engineering. By 1872 the program of studies of the school was complete. It was to be no limited technical training, but a broad and thoroughly scientific preparation.

Little by little new subjects were introduced. During the next three years geology and geodesy, astronomy, modern languages and botany were added to the curriculum. Pharmacy and the mechanical arts were added to the course.

The Jesuit teachers were extraordinarily active in the popularization of their learning. Textbooks and treatises streamed from

their pens. Many contributed to questions directly related with Ecuador. Father Menten for example dealt abundantly with the meteorology of the republic and organized the study of astronomy. He was the author of a treatise on the question of the boundary with Peru. The observatory became a center for the close study of the meteorology of Ecuador, the reports of which were published regularly in the official bulletin. Theodore Wolff, who later suffered an intense spiritual crisis and left the Society of Jesus, was one of the titans of learning associated with the Polytechnic school. His monumental *Geografía y Geología del Ecuador,* published in Germany in 1892 at the expense of the Ecuadorean government, has never been superseded. It was he who formed the mineralogical museum for the study of the mineral resources of Ecuador, heretofore either unknown or unexploited. Father Louis Sodiro wrote extensively on volcanology, agronomy and botany. He created the botanical museum, herbarium and the botanical gardens that adorned the Alameda of Quito. Louis Dressel investigated the properties of mineral and thermal water in the republic, and organized the chemical laboratory. Josef Kolberg, in the field of mathematics and engineering, contributed important monographs on the construction of roads and bridges, on architecture and higher algebra. The complete list of publications is a revelation of the diligence with which the Jesuit fathers devoted themselves to the transmission and advancement of knowledge of their science. In addition to the work of the school there was a considerable popularization of knowledge through lectures and public demonstrations. The best historian of the evolution of public instruction during the period of García Moreno is Dr. Julio Tobar Donoso, who observes that this activity constituted in reality the beginning of " modern university extension work." It would be called perhaps in modern parlance, "the popular or people's university."

The culmination of this religious renaissance was the consecration of the republic to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Its purpose was to give a public and visible testimony to the desire to bind the republic to the outward sign of divine mercy. It was the outcome of the steady increase in religious fervor that had been evident during the last ten or fifteen years and a continuation of the

religious ardor which had dominated the colonial spirit. The public devotion to the Virgin of the Mercedes of Quito by the populace was one of the many manifestations of this innate religiosity. In 1861, with the triumph of the cause of national unity, the convention of that year decreed that the patroness of the republic be the Virgin of the Merced. This was preliminary to the greater consecration to the Sacred Heart. The Jesuit priest, Manuel José Proaño, was probably responsible for the proposal that the republic be ecclesiastically and civilly consecrated. Father Proaño was one of the most eminent of the members of the Company during the mid-nineteenth century, an eloquent orator, a facile and moving writer, and a spirit blessed with indefatigable zeal. His apostolic fervor led to the solicitation that consideration be given to the consecration. It was his belief, that in this way partial reparation could be made spiritually for the injuries that the Church had received in Europe. García Moreno replied favorably to the suggestion, synthesizing his viewpoint with the words, "I recognize the faith of the Ecuadorean people and that faith imposes on me the sacred duty of preserving it intact."

The ecclesiastical authority had convoked the Third Provincial Council of Quito, coinciding with the session of the national congress. It was proposed that the consecration receive the approbation of both bodies to give it an increased solemnity.

The archbishop of Quito, José Ignacio Checa y Barba, convened the Third Provincial Council for June of 1873. The tasks of this ecclesiastical gathering were many: the extension of missionary work, the reform of the convents, the improvements of the seminaries and the perfection of the ecclesiastical judicial system. Father Freire, an alert and energetic priest, described the state of the Church at that moment, expressing his pleasure at the vast progress already made under the new government. The fervor for mission labor was especially laudable. Many women had taken the religious habit for the purpose of laboring in the missions of the Oriente. On August 30 the council gave its approval to the projected consecration. The decision of the Council of consecrating the republic to the Sacred Heart was no new procedure. In France and in the United States a similar process had taken place in the

consecration of specific dioceses to this purpose. Early in October, the national congress announced the passage of a decree sanctioning the civil consecration. This was an unusual and almost unique event. The civil and ecclesiastical authority worked hand in hand for the formal consecration of the republic to the great emblem of Catholicism. On March 25, 1874, from the pulpit of the cathedral of Quito, Father Pedro Rafael González Calisto read the act of consecration to the assembled populace.

This act was the culmination of the intense Catholic fervor that had seized Ecuador. The enthusiasm of the government for the protection and extension of the faith and the close collaboration maintained with the hierarchy produced this result. The historical process that leads up to it and the reaction against it under the successors of García Moreno gives us the chronology and thread of the religious history of the republic. Quite naturally the act was ridiculed as that of a fanatical and misguided zealot. García Moreno suffered the taunts of contemporaries throughout the world for this act of external Catholicism. He pursued his uncompromising way, oblivious of these jeers.

The importance of this consecration overshadowed the formation in Ecuador of the first national religious order for women, founded in Riobamba under the name of the Congregation of the Sisters of Mariana de Jesús, more commonly known as the Marianistas.

Since 1884, Ecuadorean politics has often involved the Church in controversy and litigation. Anti-clericalism has been rampant in many instances and party lines have been determined to some extent by this factor. Legislation has restricted the entrance of clergy from abroad and has definitely sought to reduce the number of foreign religious in the republic. State control of higher education has placed the universities in the hands of the civil authority. Catholic influence continues to make itself felt outside of these official spheres. Catholic Action is developing as a strong force; in letters, and in the arts Catholic thought has its place. Ecuador is, undoubtedly, one of the South American countries where the Church has consistently played an extremely important part in almost every act of the national life.

RICHARD F. PATTEE

MISCELLANY

Some Recent Interpretations of Pope Urban II's Eastern Policy

The motives behind the launching of the First Crusade have always been at once a source of interest and a problem to modern historians. The importance of understanding so significant a development at its very inception is obvious, but trustworthy contemporary evidence is difficult to find.[1] Bishop Adhemar of Puy, whom Urban II had appointed as legate and chief of the expedition, and who presumably was aware of the pope's intentions, died in August, 1098, before the goal had been reached. Urban himself died on July 29, 1099, just two weeks after the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, and left as indication of his plans only his celebrated speech at Clermont (1095) and a few letters. Since Pascal II, as is well known, lacked the enterprising statesmanship of his illustrious predecessor, the initiative passed into the hands of ecclesiastics and laymen in the east. It is incorrect, therefore, to assume that all the actions of these local rules and churchmen conformed to papal plans. A number of the early chronicles of the crusade were written by men who had been in the Levant and, as a consequence, the Levantine point of view colored the writings of contemporary historians in Europe. Even the accounts of Urban's speech at Clermont were compiled probably some years after the event and were doubtless affected by what had subsequently taken place.[2] As a consequence of this absence of adequate contemporary evidence, Urban's motives have too often been judged by modern historians in the light of what resulted from the First Crusade, and a bewildering variety of conclusions has been drawn from later events. This is especially noticeable in the natural tendency to consider the crusade in relation to significant contemporary developments in Europe. Since there is as yet no general agreement among scholars as to the proper interpretation of Urban's policy

[1] D. C. Munro, "The Popes and the Crusades," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LV (1916), 348 ff. A reconstruction of the pope's plan can be found in F. Duncalf, "The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade," *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro* (New York, 1928), 44-56.

[2] D. C. Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *American Historical Review*, XI (1906), 231-42. See also E. Barker, *The Crusades* (London, 1925), p. 12, n. 2 (also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article "Crusades"), who notes that the "best contemporary account of Urban's sermon, which in that of Fulcher . . . contains no reference to Jerusalem."

in the First Crusade, no categorical statements can safely be made. Several recent studies, however, have thrown some new light on the problem. A brief summary of these may serve to state the case as it now stands and perhaps contribute to a better understanding of Urban's original intentions.[3]

One problem which has concerned a number of scholars is the connection between the First Crusade and papal Byzantine policy. By 1095 the latter had two aspects. First, the desire to end the Greek schism of 1054 involved dealings with Byzantine ecclesiastics. Second, the advances of the Seljuk Turks had forced eastern emperors to seek aid in the West. Michael VII, for example, had approached Gregory VII. In this manner, important negotiations between the popes and the Byzantine emperors were opened and there appeared to Gregory VII the possibility of achieving the long sought for religious reconciliation through the offering of military assistance. Gregory, of course, could not carry out his project. But a similar opportunity confronted Urban II, and historians have debated the question whether Urban also considered military aid to the Byzantine emperor as a means of reconciling the Byzantine church.[4]

It is no longer doubted that Emperor Alexius actually requested Urban's assistance at the Council of Piacenza in March, 1095, and that the pope seriously considered the appeal.[5] What is not clear is whether, in preaching the crusade six months later at Clermont, Urban viewed the projected expedition as a means of effecting reunion. An affirmative answer to this question has been given by the Reverend Bernard Leib, S.J.[6] In a comprehensive survey of papal policy, in which even relations with Russia were included, Father Leib maintained that, despite the schism of 1054, relations between Greek and Latin Christians were such as to warrant the hope of reunion. Negotiations which Urban II opened in 1089 came to naught largely owing to the opposition of his enemies, in particular the anti-pope, Guibert. Thus, in Leib's view, the crusade opened a new opportunity for healing the schism. Unfortunately, the new political con-

[3] The extensive literature on the First Crusade is too well known to need mention here. Only recent works which deal with Urban II's original plans will be considered. For a survey of recent publications in the broader field of the crusades in general, see T. S. R. Boase, "Recent Developments in Crusading Historiography," *History*, XXIII (1937), 110-25.

[4] See, for example, C. Kohler in *Revue Historique*, LXXXIII (1903), 156; W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), 46 ff.; Duncalf, *op. cit.*, 45.

[5] D. C. Munro, "Did the Emperor Alexius ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?", *American Historical Review*, XXVII (1922), 731-3.

[6] B. Leib, *Rome, Kiew et Byzance à la Fin du XIe Siècle* (Paris, 1924), especially 179 ff. and 319 ff.

siderations which the crusade presented, the lack of discipline among the crusaders and especially their misunderstandings with the Greeks ruined the pope's plan and served only to stiffen the dogmatic opposition of the Byzantine clergy.

Leib's work was severely criticized, especially by Erich Caspar and Walther Holtzmann, both prominent German students of papal history.[7] The latter published about the same time an important article on papal Levantine policies in the second half of the eleventh century, in which he discussed in detail the various reunion negotiations and the plans for military action against the Turks and concluded that the First Crusade had no immediate connection with Urban's efforts to achieve a religious reconciliation.[8] Although reunion was close to the pope's heart, as is shown by his negotiations in 1089 and by his renewed efforts in 1098-9, the crusade grew out of entirely different factors, such as the Turkish situation and the Cluny reform movement. Therefore, although at Piacenza in March, 1095, Urban had simply considered sending aid to Alexius, by the time he had reached Clermont in November of the same year, he had decided on Jerusalem as the goal. This change, Holtzmann thought, perhaps resulted from the pope's journey through southern France and may well have been brought about by the persuasion of such men as Adhemar of Puy and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who later played prominent rôles on the expedition to Jerusalem. Thus, in addition to clarifying Urban's Byzantine policies before 1095, Holtzmann also called attention to the marked change in the pope's plans between the Council of Piacenza in March, 1095, where the appeal of Alexius was heard and the Council of Clermont in November, 1095, where the First Crusade (something vastly different from a mere expedition to help Constantinople) was launched.

In an article on Urban's crusade plans, Augustin Fliche, the noted French historian of the eleventh century papacy, helped to explain this significant change by discussing in detail the pope's journey from Piacenza to Clermont through southern France.[9] Urban stopped at various places.[10] But

[7] E. Caspar in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVI (1926), 102; W. Holtzmann in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIV (1926), 98-100. But see also the less unfavorable notice of L. Halphen in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXXV (1924), 376-9.

[8] "Studien zur Orientpolitik des Reformpapsttums und zur Entstehung des ersten Kreuzzuges," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXII (1924-5), 167-99. There is a brief summary in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXII (1925), 359 by A. Hofmeister. Holtzmann's conclusions regarding the negotiations of 1089 were further substantiated by his discovery and publication of two Greek documents ("Der Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexios I und Urban II im Jahre 1089," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVIII (1928), 38 ff.).

[9] "Urbain II et la Croisade," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, XII (1927), 289-306. In a more recent article ("Les Origines de l'Action de la

the visits most significant for the crusade were: Le Puy where he met Adhemar, recently returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; Cluny, the heart of the reform movement and in close touch with the Spanish situation; and Saint-Gilles. The visit to Raymond of Saint-Gilles, which took the pope considerably out of his way, Fliche especially emphasized. Raymond IV, count of Toulouse, friend of the church and already known for his exploits in Spain, may well have been as influential as Adhemar of Puy in broadening Urban's plans. Certainly at Piacenza Urban apparently only considered sending a small force to aid Alexius, whereas at Clermont the idea of an expedition to recover the Holy Land had fully matured in his mind. According to Fliche, however, the pope had in mind only one army under the direction of Adhemar with Raymond as his lieutenant, and must have been thoroughly surprised to find three other armies and hordes of peasants taking the road to Jerusalem.

Other historians, especially those engaged in surveying European conditions in general, have been less interested in the problem of Constantinople and its place in Urban's policy than with the relation of the First Crusade to contemporary European developments, in particular the investiture controversy. It has been frequently asserted, for example, that Urban's purpose in the crusade was the reëstablishment of his leadership over Christendom, seriously threatened as a result of the struggle with the Holy Roman Empire.[11] Others have denied this.[12] Some have held that the pope sought to relieve the pressure of the Muslims in Spain by an

Papauté en vue de la Croisade," *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, XXXIV (1938), 765-75), Fliche discusses the significant fact that by the eleventh century the papacy, not the empire (as formerly), was already recognized as the leader in promoting the defense against Islam. Moreover, in view of the fact that the emperor was under the ban of the church at the time, it was natural for Urban to turn elsewhere for assistance.

[10] R. Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urbain II et ses Négociations avec le Clergé de France (1095-6)," *Revue Historique*, CLXXIX (1937), 271-310.

[11] See for example K. Hampe, *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer* (7th ed. by F. Baethgen, Leipzig, 1937), 76; J. W. Thompson and E. N. Johnson, *An Introduction to Medieval Europe* (New York, 1937), 521-2; R. A. Newhall, *The Crusades* (New York, 1927), 37-8.

[12] Z. N. Brooke in *Cambridge Medieval History*, V, 95. See also A. Cartellieri, *Der Aufsteig des Papsttums im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte 1047-1095* (München und Berlin, 1936), 255; J. Haller, *Das Papsttum: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, vol. II, pt. 1 (Stuttgart, 1937), 419.

I have not been able to obtain a copy of F. Cognasso, *La Genesi delle Crociate* (Torino, 1934). U. Schwerin, *Die Aufrüfe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes, von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innocenz IV* (*Historische Studien*, ed. E. Eberling, 301, Berlin, 1937), is a study of the crusade propaganda methods of the popes.

attack in the east.[13] Students of the crusaders' states in the Levant have attributed to the papacy plans for a church state in Jerusalem or possibly a papal fief bound to the Holy See by ties similar to those which the popes maintained with some of the smaller European kingdoms.[14]

It is in consideration of such manifestly divergent interpretations of competent scholars that a recent book by Carl Erdmann takes on considerable significance.[15] The author has made an exhaustive and penetrating analysis of the origin and development of the crusade idea, the holy war. He concludes that, far from being an outgrowth of eleventh century conditions, the crusade idea has its roots deep in the Christian past; that it represents a gradual transformation of the early idea of the spiritual "soldier of Christ" to the temporal defender of the church and the pope of later days. Thus, the First Crusade, in fact all crusades, are simply examples of the holy war. Erdmann's book has been reviewed at length by several distinguished scholars and it would be superfluous to repeat here what others have said.[16] There has been universal agreement as to the significance of the book and the competence of the author. The book has even been called "a complete repertory of all the facts and all the doctrines which throw light on the attitude of the church toward the feudal world during the tenth and eleventh centuries".[17] The principal criticism has been directed against the author's too strict adherence to his main thesis and his consequent insistence on fitting all crusades into the same pattern. What particularly concerns the present discussion is Erdmann's treatment of Urban II. In his final chapter and in an appendix of some length, he has given one of the most comprehensive and thorough studies of Urban's eastern policy which has so far appeared.

This eastern policy, the author maintains, was less an original conception than the natural consequence of the efforts of his predecessors, especially Gregory VII. Urban's innovations were in method rather than

[13] Newhall, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Crozet, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

[14] J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1291* (Cambridge, 1932), 4, 203 ff.; J. Hansen, *Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem* (Luxemburg, 1928); Haller, *op. cit.*, II, 2, 65-6.

[15] *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte*, ed. E. Seeberg, E. Caspar, W. Weber, VI, Stuttgart, 1935).

[16] Note especially the reviews by L. Bréhier in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, XXXII (1936), 671-6; Z. N. Brooke in *English Historical Review*, LIV (1939), 108-10; L. Halphen in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XCVII (1936), 391-2; K. Hampe in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLIII (1935-6), 579-83; J. L. La Monte in *Speculum*, XII (1937), 119-22; R. Latouche in *Le Moyen Age*, VII (1936), 282-4. See also *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, XXVI (1935-6), 292-3, and *Deutches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters*, I (1937), 253-4.

[17] Bréhier, *loc. cit.*

in principle. Nevertheless, in pushing the war against the infidel, the pope showed a remarkable grasp of all the elements in the situation. He associated the papacy with the mid-Mediterranean expansion of the Pisans and the Normans. He coordinated the holy war in Spain with that in the Orient without, however, failing to realize that, from the military and geographic standpoint, the two developments were distinct. Urban was not so naïve as to think that events in Asia necessarily affected the Iberian peninsula. Moreover, he placed the Spanish war on a par with the crusade to the Holy Land by offering the same indulgence for both. In 1099 when the archbishop of Toledo appeared in Rome hoping to join the crusaders in the Levant, the pope sent him back to Spain.

As far as the east itself was concerned, Urban's policy involved two factors at first: ecclesiastical reunion with the Byzantine church, and military aid to the eastern empire. Undoubtedly he hoped that the offering of military assistance might enhance the prospects for reunion and in the years 1089-91 both were considered. Whether ecclesiastical reunion entered into the plans for the crusade in 1095-6 it is unfortunately impossible to say and "conjectures are fruitless". It is only certain that the crusade did not mean the abandonment of hopes for reunion, as Urban's efforts in 1098-99 indicate. But Erdmann insists (and here he differs markedly from other interpretations) that the military plan of Clermont was not the radical departure from the ideas of Piacenza that was once supposed. Even at Piacenza it was not merely a question of protecting Constantinople. Military action to push back the frontiers of Islam, possibly even to Syria and Palestine, may very well have been intended.[18] Further, the traditional explanation of Clermont is not entirely satisfactory. Since the accounts of the pope's speech were written some years after the event, they were probably influenced by the anti-Byzantinism current in Europe after 1100. Thus, the actual goal of the expedition, Jerusalem, seems to have been read back with exaggerated emphasis into the reports of the speech and eventually to have influenced the interpretation of modern historians. Relying upon such evidence as can be found prior to 1099 and discounting the reports of pilgrims returning from Palestine, the author maintains that even at Clermont, the freeing of the "Oriental Church", a defensive war of a united Christendom against the infidel in the east as in Spain, was Urban's purpose. Already the participants in the Spanish war had been offered the same indulgence given pilgrims to Jerusalem. But pilgrims were not supposed to be armed. Therefore, Urban's great innovation at Clermont was to extend the customary Jerusalem pilgrimage indulgence to all who went to Jerusalem "for the freeing of God's church", and thus officially to proclaim for the first time the idea of the armed pilgrimage. Constantinople and Jerusalem, then,

[18] Cf. Haller, *op. cit.*, II, 2, 531, for a criticism of this view.

were not two conflicting objectives, were not an "either-or", but an "as well-as". Jerusalem was a necessary "Marschziel" not the "Kriegziel", and the First Crusade was merely the culmination of the long development of the holy war idea.

Finally, Erdmann holds that while it is true Urban won great moral authority as a result of the crusade, it is a question whether such was his design.[19] Apparently, at least as far as can be learned from his own statements, the pope had no intention of binding the crusaders to a papal over-lordship or of founding a church state in the Levant. Such notions originated later in the east. Urban's statesmanship differed from Gregory VII's in what Erdmann describes as his capacity for limitation. He was content to "place himself at the head of a popular movement without obtaining direct advantage therefrom" (p. 325).

It is clear that this interpretation of the origins of the First Crusade differs in many respects from any hitherto held and is, of course, open to the same criticism which has been made of the main body of the book. Urban is made to fit into a plan; and although the pope is credited with statesmanlike qualities of a high order, his great initiative and originality are denied.[20] In a sense he becomes a follower rather than a leader. The impression is given that the author has sought somewhat too ingeniously to minimize the difference between Clermont and Piacenza in order that the crusade may appear "as a simple continuation of the previous Orient policy of the popes" (p. 303). On the other hand, in approaching the important subject of the crusade from the standpoint of papal policy, Erdmann has performed a signal service in questioning a number of broad generalizations and in calling attention to the danger of confusing actual results with original intentions. He has demonstrated Urban's grasp of the European situation as a whole, political and religious, in the east and in Europe. Not all the questions which have puzzled scholars have been satisfactorily answered, but here is an interpretation of the pope's eastern policy based on painstaking and thorough analysis which, if it is not accepted, will have to be reckoned with in the future.

In spite of the difficulties and disagreements evident in this brief discussion, certain lines of thought have been clarified by the recent studies of Urban II's policies and the relatively certain can more easily be distinguished from the uncertain. The connection between Spain and the Orient has been placed in its proper light. The relation between the crusade and the reunion of the churches remains uncertain, although important contributions have been made to a better understanding of papal Byzantine policy. Equally uncertain is Urban's attitude toward the prospective crusaders' states in the Levant. In view of previous

[19] Cf. the review by La Monte, mentioned above, for a criticism of this view.

[20] Cf. the reviews by Bréhier, Brooke and Halphen, mentioned above.

theories Erdmann's opinion that the pope planned neither a church state nor a papal fief in Jerusalem is significant. His statements also lend support to those who are not inclined to view the First Crusade as a papal counteroffensive in the investiture struggle. Finally, while there has never been any doubt as to Urban's abilities, the breadth of his statesmanship, his understanding of the manifold interrelations of European and Mediterranean politics and his capacity for coördinating separate undertakings are now more clear than ever before. This remains true whether the First Crusade is regarded as merely the culmination of a long development or as a spectacular and original achievement.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860. A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. By RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xiv, 514. $5.00.)

During the past few years it is interesting to note that three separate research projects have been completed on the problem of the evaluation of the attitude of the American mind toward the Catholic Church. The first to appear was Sister Mary Augustine Ray's, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century,* done under the direction of Professor Evarts B. Greene of Columbia University. The second was the reviewer's *Catholicism in New England to 1788,* written under the direction of Monsignor Guilday of the Catholic University of America. The third is the present work, the outgrowth of a term paper on "The Social Significance of Know-Nothingism" and a doctorate thesis under Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard, *The Origins of American Nativism, 1800-1844,* Such simultaneous interest in this subject on the part of the historical departments of three great American universities indicates its present importance.

Professor Billington, Assistant Professor of History at Smith College, has given us a classic work, which for many years will remain the last word on the subject. Not a Catholic, he has brought to his treatment of the antagonism to the Catholic Church a true historical sympathy and critical spirit. Wide reading in the extensive literature of this unusual period of American history and painstaking examination of the scores of periodicals then extant has been united with a balanced analysis and an artful synthesis of his material. Accurate citation of his sources, unusual fairness in controversial issues, adequate appendices, a well arranged and full bibliography of sixty pages, and a comprehensive index give a volume of unusual interest and profound significance for American historians and sociologists. To quote a much overworked phrase, this is a "must" book for thoughtful readers.

The author, in an endeavor to ascertain the bases of the virulent opposition to the rapidly spreading Catholic Church of the fourth to sixth decades of the 19th century, analyzes in summary form the roots of the anti-Catholic prejudice. Beginning his actual study with the year 1820, he shows the progress of the anti-Catholic movement in its manifold manifestations until the decline of Know-Nothingism in 1860. He carefully appraises the political, religious, sociological and cultural ramifications

of each new manifestation and correlates them all with the main stream. The story moves graphically forward from the burning of the Ursuline Convent in 1834 to the height of the Know-Nothing movement. While a widespread revulsion gripped the country following the midnight flames on Charlestown Mount Benedict, the violent sensationalism and frank pornography, so appealing to the lower classes, continued through the 1830's. In the early 1840's the nativists changed to new tactics in an attempt "to win to their standard the religiously inclined sober citizen." In this they were so successful that by the middle of the decade "the American churches were able to present a virtually united front against Catholicism," and "No-Popery had at last reached a place where it could bid for national power." This diffused prejudice against the Catholic Church "led inevitably to violence and bloodshed," for such depth of feeling demanded physical expression. This success, though flamboyant, was only momentary and, "Until the Know-Nothing agitation brought a revival a few years later, nativism as a legislative issue was dead." Hence the nativists again attempted to win organized religion to its crusade in favor of No-Popery. By the early 1850's "the anti-Catholic forces were stronger than at any time before in the country's history." The American and Foreign Christian Union had won the church-going group; the lower classes were brought within the fold by turbulent preachers, lay and clerical, who assailed the activities of the Catholic Church. The result was that the church-going group was "convinced that war against Rome was a new crusade necessary to protect their Bible and their faith." The lower classes were sure that their "economic, social and political welfare would be endangered through continued immigration", particularly if it was Catholic.

This effective No-Popery crusade, thus initiated, was the common factor in the sectional success of the Know-Nothing party. In the South the desire to compromise the troublesome slavery question was joined with the yearning to voice objections against Catholics and aliens. The border states embraced the standards of Know-Nothingism because it was a party of compromise amid the violent sectionalism of other political groups. Any success the Know-Nothing movement had in the Northwest is testimony of the effectiveness of the No-Popery crusade. This latter, so vigorous and virulent in the northeast states, made of them a stronghold of Know-Nothingism. So this unusual movement was for the time being in control in many states and it was committed to anti-Catholicism. Its very success, however, contributed to its failure, for its demands "could never be realized in a country constituted as was the United States" and its principles "were inimical to those on which the American nation had been founded." Even its secrecy was a boomerang. And it died as quickly as it had mushroomed to power.

Professor Billington's work is so scholarly that it will remain for a long time the classic work on this subject. For this very reason it seems advisable to point out some very definite limitations in treatment and some positive objections to its statements and conclusions. Thus there still remains much work to be done on the influence of the doctrines of Rousseau; these had a direct bearing on the educational policy of American schoolmen and on the development of the humanitarian movement, especially insofar as these moulded the anti-Catholicism of the period between 1830 and 1855. Neither is there any treatment in Professor Billington's book of the anti-Catholicism which marked the attitude of many individuals in the United States toward Latin America. Finally the fact that the American Catholic hierarchy did not take a united stand on the slavery question must be considered in terms of its effect on the nativistic movement.

Also it seems necessary to discuss what Professor Billington terms "the blunders of the Catholic Church." Here is an occasion, however controversial it may be considered, where only a Catholic can fully appraise the facts. It can be readily granted that bold expression by bishops and priests, the insistence on open proclamation of Catholicism, the heaping of abuses on Protestant sects, and the demand for state aid to Catholic schools were unwise in the America of that day. Yet these were only accidentals in the Church's life. The insistence, however, on Catholic schools, the opposition to the reading of the Protestant Bible in the public schools, the settling of the trustee controversies, the extension of the Catholic press, the erection of new dioceses, the construction of elaborate churches, the carrying out of the full pomp and ceremonial of the liturgy, and the convocation of the various national and provincial councils were essential to the vitality of Catholicism in America. In these latter the various persons thus acting were only being real Catholics, however much they may have seemed to be imitating European situations.

To continue the criticism, detailed because of the value of the study, attention must be called to the first chapter. Therein Professor Billington presents in summary form the roots of the anti-Catholicism as they were manifested in the 17th and 18th centuries. Among the corrections should be mentioned the contradiction between the author's opening statement, that the hatred of Catholics and foreigners had been steadily growing since the foundation of the colonies, and the correct diagnosis of this movement on page 24. In general his explanation of the bases of anti-Catholicism in the colonial and early federal periods is not thorough enough. This is especially true in the matter of the liberality of the national constitution and of the state constitutions from 1780 to 1833. There is no censure to be attached to this, for the sources upon which the author depended are themselves deficient in these points. It must be emphasized that the proper appreciation of many anti-Catholic works must be made in terms

of the whole gamut of editions and of the influence these works had on the populace. For example it has been the reviewer's experience that only scattering editions (and these limited in volumes) of the *New England Primer* contained the caricature of the pope. In somewhat different manner it has not yet been definitely established how widespread was the use of *The Protestant Tutor,* whose cost and whose few known copies militated against the diffusion of its store of anti-Catholicism. Finally and more specifically the Rhode Island law disfranchising Catholics can be dated at least as early as 1705 (p. 9). Father Rale had been among the Indians as early as 1699 and probably as early as 1694 (p. 15). Anti-Catholic oaths were required in Connecticut from 1662 and in New Hampshire from 1680 (p. 15). Note 18 (p. 8) does not completely establish the fact of anti-Irish laws but only the operation of stringent laws against the admission of strangers. Antagonism to the Quebec Act had its roots in opposition to Anglicanism. And there were evidences of celebration of Pope's Day after 1775; in this connection it still remains an unsolved question why Guy Fawkes's Day became Pope's Day, whether because of a New England innovation or because of transmission from England.

In the bibliographical section some corrections are necessary. Thus the dates for *The Jesuit* are not sufficiently inclusive; issues for 1834 are quoted in the text, but not listed in the bibliography. The correct title for *The Pilot* until 1858 is *The Boston Pilot*. A number of periodicals—too numerous to cite here—are omitted from the bibliography although listed in the footnotes and quoted in the text. It would seem advisable to indicate the libraries in which the rarer works are to be found to aid future research workers and students. Finally it must be stated that certain authoritative works, already in print, should have been consulted and listed.

This long series of corrections and criticisms has been included only because this work by Professor Billington merits such attention due to its unusual excellence. It will long be a source book and the foundation for further research projects. Hence even minor corrections are necessarily mentioned to set future workers on as accurate a path as possible.

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L'Eglise est une: Hommage à Moehler. Edited by Pierre Chaillet. (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1939. Pp. 351. $0.75.)

"Defensor fidei, literarum decus, ecclesiae solamen": this is the inscription on the monument in Munich over the grave of the beloved, attractive priest, Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838). That monument was raised by subscription of Catholic Germany. And it stands over the last remains of a deep, original, fearless theologian and church historian who completed

his task, ran his race, and left an indelible mark on the history of the Church before his death at the age of forty-two. Many a scholar is just winning his medals at this age; but not Möhler. He was famous in his twenties.

The present volume dedicated to him by German and French theologians and historians and edited by Father Chaillet, a French Jesuit, is offered as a homage one hundred years after Möhler's death in 1838. The collaborators are illustrious: Sertillanges, Adam, Bihlmeyer, Bardy, Congar and Jungmann, to mention but a half-dozen out of fourteen. And the title is naturally suggested by the first of Möhler's works: *Die Einheit in der Kirche,* (Tübingen, 1825).

Father Chaillet has drawn up a threefold plan: the problem of unity; Möhler and the unity of the Church; the exigencies or demands of unity. The middle section, quite rightly such in view of the purpose of this book, is by far the longest. For the aim is to present to the 20th century Catholic the mind of Möhler, a mind summarized in his own words: " Nous sommes ainsi revenus à notre point de départ: nous trouvons le Christ et restons dans la vérité, quand nous restons dans l'amour, dans l'unité, dans la communauté." Note the order—love came before unity in Möhler's reasoning.

Möhler of course wrote in German. But this work appears, almost uniquely, simultaneously in German and in French. It has been a labor of love for the men who worked together in giving us so many aspects of Möhler's thought, especially his concept of the Church's unity throughout history, from the patristic period and through the reform down to his own day, a day described by one writer as the " Iron Age of Theology ", those first three quarters of the 19th century.

Religion and universality by Sertillanges, O.P. follows the editor's introduction and a list of Möhler's writings. " The mystery of the Church, scandal of the faith triumphant," by Karl Adam, himself so well-known to English readers through his Möhler-impressed *Spirit of Catholicism* and *Christ, Our Brother,* completes the first section of this symposium. Adam is a Tübingen man as Möhler was.

The French academician, Georges Goyau, who died in October, leads off the second division with a chapter on the joyous effort of a life directed toward unity. He is followed by that profound scholar of the patristic age, Gustave Bardy, in a magisterial chapter on the voice of the Fathers. From Tübingen, scene of much of Möhler's own labors and successes, comes Professor Bihlmeyer with a chapter on the history of the Church. Living tradition, its unity and development in the Church, is the subject of the succeeding chapter by Dr. Ranft of Würzburg; and this makes way for a study by another scholar of Tübingen, Professor Geiselmann, writing on the different aspects of unity and of love.

In his profound chapter, divided into five parts, Geiselmann touches upon the initial opposition between external unity and mystical unity in the

Church. He goes on to deal with the reduction of these contraries in the organic theory of the Church and her unity, following this with the decisive question of external and internal unity. The new conception of unity and love forms his next topic. He concludes by showing the synthesis of the organic and authoritarian concepts of unity and love. This is pure Möhler.

The learned Jesuit editor, Father Chaillet, continues with his chapter on the mystical principle of unity. From Tübingen again comes another scholar, Dr. Lösch, with his contribution on the visible organization of unity. The Institut Catholique of Paris is represented by Father de Montcheuil who very ably treats the subject of liberty and diversity in the Church; and this scholarly Jesuit is succeeded by a Dominican from the Saulchoir in Belgium, Father Congar, on his well-known theme, unity being with him a specialty: the destruction of unity.

All these men, and those not yet mentioned, are specialists, Congar being particularly noteworthy for his recent efforts towards the union of the churches. He is followed by a professor from the Russicum in Rome, Father Tyszkiewicz, S.J., who studies the question of the theology of Möhler on unity and the Pravo-slavonic theologians. Heidelberg's Dr. Vierneisel, himself an editor of Möhler's *Die Einheit* (1925), brings this long section to a close with his conclusions on the up-to-dateness of the early 19th century theologian. In the third and final section there are two articles: one by Father Pribilla, S.J. of Munich deals with the ways to unity; the other is from the pen of Father Jungmann, S.J. of Innsbruck (that was), on the Church in the religious life of the present-day.

To pass judgment and to characterize each of these coordinated units —Dr. Geiselmann's contribution alone running to nearly 70 pages—would require more space than can be allotted to a book review. But it may truly be said that here we have a book about a Catholic by Catholics of whom we may well be proud. Some of the writers have already distinguished themselves as students of Möhler: Goyau, Vierneisel, Lösch, Geiselmann; all of them are scholars of the first water in their own fields. And they give us a work the combined effect of which should do much to honor the man who wrote with such fervor:

> "Let us always be big and free; let us always love and preserve unity of mind by the bonds of peace."

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Materials toward a History of Witchcraft. Collected by HENRY CHARLES LEA. Three Volumes. Arranged and edited by Arthur C. Howland. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. Pp. xliv, 1548. $12.00.)

In 1914 Professor George Lincoln Burr agreed to the request of Arthur H. Lea, the literary executor of his father, to edit the materials of Henry Charles Lea on witchcraft which he had collected during his years of study and upon which he was working at the time of his death in 1909. Unforeseen work nullified these plans. In 1928 Professor Arthur Charles Howland took up the task.

With the exception of more explicit references and some explanatory notes of the editor and Professor Burr, who also wrote the important introduction, the materials and comments are Lea's. Lea had apparently about finished collecting materials for his work, but he had not evolved a plan for its publication. The organization of the matter is, therefore, entirely the work of Professor Howland. The latter, however, remained faithful to Lea's methods of publication, namely, to let the sources speak for themselves and only to tie the citations together by means of a running comment. The pagination is continuous for the three volumes. There is no index. The table of contents is quite detailed.

The work is divided into four parts of unequal length and thoroughness. Part I, "The Older Beliefs" (pp. 1-198), contains the opinions of early, primarily, Hebrew and Christian writers, on the powers of evil and a section on magic and sorcery. It also presents evidence of the acceptance of popular beliefs by early churchmen. Part II, "How the Witch Theory Developed" (pp. 199-434), treats of the assimilation of sorcery to heresy, witch trials to the middle of the 16th century, treatises on witchcraft to 1550, an admittedly inadequate section on the views of the Protestant reformers, and a short section on mysticism. The greater part of the material is grouped in Part III, "The Delusion at its Height" (pp. 435-1349). Over 400 pages are devoted to the opinions of promoters and critics of witchcraft. Here we meet Weyer, Bobin, Binsfeld, Remy, del Rio, Tanner, Spee, and a host of others. Amongst the secular jurists we find only the Germans represented. Special sections treat of the witchcraft literature of the Roman Inquisition and demoniacal possession. The section devoted to witchcraft by regions is extensive but uneven. The materials for that are primarily drawn from secondary studies. The English and Scotch writers are listed in this section and not, as they logically should be, under the title of promoters and critics. Most of the space in Part IV, "The Decline of Witchcraft" (pp. 1351-1549), is devoted to the final controversies. There are also sections on witchcraft and the philosophers, witchcraft and the moral theologians, and survivals into later times. The comments of Lea, clearly indicated by medium type or by signature, are interspersed throughout the work.

Much of all this is primary material. Lea also drew heavily from the works of his friend Hansen, and to a lesser degree from Soldan-Heppe, Riezler and others. The reader must not forget Professor Burr's caution (pp. xxxv-xxxvi) that the book to be edited by Professor Howland is "safe for those alone who can use it as he left it. Nor may it be taken for finished work. Not a line had yet its author's approval for print—nor even for admission to his volume." He certainly would have used Pastor's revision of the eight volumes of Janssen's *History of the German People*, which he had in his library, and the more recent works of Nicolaus Paulus and Bernard Duhr, S.J., as well as many other studies on witchcraft which have appeared since 1909, if he had lived to complete his own work.

A detailed evaluation of such a mass of material is obviously impossible and really would be fruitless. The work does not intend to present a complete and satisfactory history of witchcraft. To some it "may seem only a chaos of evidence and of opinion" (p. xliii). The careful reader is certainly bound to find gaps. Professor Howland points to some of them: the undercurrent of opposition to witch prosecution even at the height of the delusion, the lack of attention to the Protestant theologians, and the inadequacy of our information as to witch prosecution by countries. This list can readily be augmented. The almost complete reliance on the opinions of exegetes of the rationalist school for the scriptural phases of the problems of demonology is certainly inadequate. The intermingling of canonical and apocryphal scriptures will tend to confuse the unwary. They did not have equal weight in the development of the Christian doctrine of the spirit world. Much more material can be found in the Church Fathers. There is not enough emphasis on the existence, extent and tenacity of the popular belief of pagan origin. The *capitularia*, the *acta* of the synods, and the *vitae* of the 8th to the 11th centuries are full of data on the warfare of the medieval church against magic, sorcery, and all the occult arts. One might also look for a more universal picture of the opinions of the scholastics. Too much reliance appears to be placed on the authority of Walter Mapes and Caesarius of Heisterbach. The citations from the moral theologians in the section, "Survivals into Later Times", can surely be improved. One looks in vain for any reference to Ireland and the American colonies. The citation from Friederich Nippold (p. 1528) concerning witchburnings in 19th century Mexico should be accompanied by a reference to a more recent study of the problem which found no evidence (*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XXXII, 1887).

Not the least interesting part of the work are the comments of Henry Charles Lea himself. Anyone acquainted with his earlier publications will find himself to be at home with them. Lea never did leave his readers in doubt as to what he did not like. Belief in angels and demons is simply credulity to him. "Magic must be held to comprehend all manifestations of the control which men have in every age assumed to possess over super-

natural forces" (p. xxvi). The magian, the pythoness, the Catholic priest, the modern spiritualist, the kaffir priest—all are magicians. He holds no brief for the Protestants. "There is practically no difference on this subject (i.e. witchcraft) between the sects" (p. 881). Some readers will find it hard to agree with the statement: "It seems to me that the reason why the witch-craze was sooner outgrown in Protestant than in Catholic territory is explicable by the diminished authority of the priesthood in the former" (p. 1381). Lea's studies, nevertheless, led him to see the comparative tolerance of the Inquisition in contrast with the horrors in Germany, France, and England. "It is a very curious fact—", he wrote in 1903, "which I have nowhere seen recognized—that in both Spain and Italy the Holy Office took a decidedly sceptical attitude with regard to the Sabbat and the Cap. Episcopi that preserved those lands from the madness prevailing elsewhere" (p. xxiii). Lea, however, never seems to have understood the Catholic doctrine on the spirit world, particularly the relationship between God and the powers of the devil on earth, as his notes amply bear witness (pp. 264, 317, 366, 370, 473, 492, 980). The frequent quotations and summaries from Catholic authors, great and small, ancient, medieval, and modern, are confusing. Even the trained theologian would find it difficult, if not impossible, to sift the accepted doctrine from the private opinion of speculators, if he had only this sort of material to lean on. The remark relative to the modern teaching of Catholic theologians (Gury's, *Casus Conscientiae,* in this case) on the occult (p. 1522), may easily lead the unwary student to the conclusion that Catholic seminaries are even today engaged in the business of training witch hunters, if not worse.

In spite of all that, "the material here collected provides a large body of information on the subject and will, it is hoped, serve as a guide to later students in the field" (p. viii). This is the opinion of the editor, Professor Howland, and will surely be the opinion of every student. All will likewise agree with Professor Burr's concluding remarks in his Introduction: "But in such a book misunderstanding is still easy; and it must not be forgotten that these notes were made, not for others, but only for himself. It is therefore only for a scholar, a scholar exercising careful discernment, that these materials can be a safe hunting-ground" (p. xliii).

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Pre-Reformation England. By H. MAYNARD SMITH, D.D. (Oxon.) Canon of Gloucester. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xv, 525. $8.00.)

We are grateful to Canon Smith for telling us in the preface that, "the author has not undertaken original research, but he has read a multitude of books—good, bad and indifferent" (p. viii), and "that the book is

more of a survey than a history" (p. vii). As far as the content of the book is concerned, the student of this period of history will find nothing new. It is true that the writer makes a splendid diagnosis of the social, economic and religious conditions in England before the "Reformation". But it is likewise true, that such an analysis had recently been made by G. Constant in *The Reformation in England.*

Canon Smith says, "Roman Catholics often write as if the Reformation in England would not have taken place if it had not been for the desire of Henry VIII for a divorce" (p. vii). Some of the Catholic historians of the pre-Pastor era, such as Darras, Brueck and Alzog were probably guilty of this charge. But more recent Catholic historians of the "Reformation" have repudiated this thesis. We have for instance the statement to be found in a recent Catholic historian, G. Constant, in his *Reformation in England,* "The occasion of the English Schism is so patent and indisputable that many people scarcely trouble to look for the causes, while some even think that the *occasion* of it, Henry VIII's divorce, was in reality the cause. That is certainly a short, easy and simple solution, but the truth is generally more complicated than that" (p. vii). Constant is quite clear in this matter. Since his excellent book is not to be found mentioned in the books, "good, bad or indifferent", which Canon Smith has read, he probably does not know it.

The subject of the relationship between England and Rome before the revolt is an interesting and profitable study. John Tracy Ellis in his doctoral dissertation, *Anti-Papal Legislation in Medieval England, 1066–1377* (Washington, 1930), has given us the legal side of this picture. He says, "Long before Henry VIII became king of England Rome was no longer a serious factor in English political affairs. No papal legate could enter England without the permission of the king, no papal bull or letter could be received. . . ." (p. 122). There was practically speaking only one tie left, binding England with Rome—the acknowledgment of the Pope as Head of the Church. This tie was broken by Henry VIII. The tie was broken synchronously with his unsuccessful attempt to obtain Roman consent to his divorce. Certainly the divorce had much to do with it. It is very easy to over-emphasize the part the divorce played in the whole affair; and again, one can de-emphasize its importance. If the historian were allowed to prophesy might he not venture the opinion, that, if the divorce had not taken place, England would have enjoyed the same independence which other continental churches had enjoyed but she would not have forsaken Peter? It is extremely difficult to disassociate the name of Henry VIII from the English schism.

Canon Smith devotes a proportionate share of his work to the scandals which existed in the Church. He is not as severe in his condemnation of them as is the Catholic, Von Pastor. In this mild treatment the Canon resembles his fellow-Protestant, Mandell Creighton. But the inferences

he draws are open to dispute. Because of scandals, nationalism, a new economic order, etc., England could not any longer remain in the Roman Catholic Church (p. 516 ff.). The old Church was no longer the Church of Christ. The Church of England therefore had the responsibility of carrying on the tradition of centuries. Did the presence of scandal in the Church invalidate its claims to be the Church of Christ? Newman says, "There may be a declension and a deterioration of the priesthood of a whole country. There may be secret unbelievers among the clergy and laity; there may be disorders in some particular monastery or nunnery . . . there may have been popes before now who, to the letter, have fulfilled the awful description of the unfaithful steward, who 'began to strike the man-servants and maid-servants, and to eat and drink and be drunk.' Yet what does it avail as an argument against the Catholic Church? Nothing until it can be proved that the scandals within her pale have been caused by her principles, her teachings and her injunctions" (Quoted in the *Catholic World*, May, 1904, p. 144). If the presence of scandal in a religious group, of any denomination, is to be used as a criterion of its validity or invalidity, where shall we find the Church of Christ?

The author relates in great detail the avalanche of superstitious practises which went by the name of religion. A serious student of history would hardly question the facts presented. The reforming decrees of the Council of Trent are an admission that abuses along this line existed. But "Protestants surpassed Catholics in the practise of what is nowadays universally acknowledged to have been a superstition, the very horrible superstition of witchcraft" (Hayes, *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe*, II, 210).

Canon Smith says that the world had changed. There was no longer any place for an international institution like the Catholic Church (p. 517). Not only had the political sense of the world changed, but the change was similarly noted in the economic field. Again we do not dispute the premise: that the political and economic order had changed, but we dispute the conclusion: that therefore the old Church no longer had validity. Are Churches to derive their *raison d'être* from such external circumstances? Does the Canon seriously mean that we are to have new churches everytime that the world changes its external trappings? Ought we not rather examine the evidence as to which church is the one which Christ founded? England broke officially from the Roman communion in 1534, when Parliament passed a series of laws, one of which declared the king to be the "only supreme head on earth of the Church in England." It is quite unlikely that this would have taken place except for the divorce. There would have been no reason for it. England was independent. If newer changes were necessary, the Church has shown enough resiliency in these matters to make us believe that the necessary adjustments could have been made on all matters except essentials. Later on, during the time

of Elizabeth, an adjustment could have been made concerning the property that had been confiscated from the Church, as it was conceded by Rome in Mary's day. The new owners could have been allowed to retain their estates. A similar solution had taken place in France after the French Revolution. Evidently the owners were not willing to risk the possession of their newly acquired wealth by submitting to the Church of their ancestors.

Canon Smith concludes his book with this sentence, "Both before and after the Reformation the Church of England has claimed to be the Catholic Church in this land" (p. 525). The author has not proved that this is true. In order to do this, he would have to prove that the Church of England after 1534 was the one which Christ founded at the very beginning. No proof of this is given.

There is solid documentation in the book. The *Pre-Reformation in England* is an excellent illustration of what so frequently happens, i.e., from the same set of premises different people draw different conclusions.

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Les Origines du Gallicanisme. By VICTOR MARTIN. Two volumes. (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1939. Pp. 366, 382. Fr. 150.)

Years ago, in a final *rigorosum* the reviewer had the imprudence to disagree with a very dogmatic professor. The professor had insisted that the beginnings of Gallicanism were to be sought in 14th century England. Merely for the sake of argument I maintained that Charlemagne was the first Gallican. The question and its solution depended largely on a definition. It is precisely in the clarity with which Victor Martin defines his terms and limits their application that the chief merit of this new monograph consists.

Used loosely and in a wide sense, the term Gallicanism has been made to cover any and every attempt on the part of princes, prelates or parliaments to restrict the powers of the Holy See. Cyprian and Hincmar among the bishops, Charlemagne, St. Louis and the German emperors, provincial councils from the 5th century onward,—all may be labeled Gallican. At a much later date, Febronius and Joseph II have been regarded as German or Austrian champions of two varieties of Gallicanism. With this vagueness Professor Martin has little patience. Nor will he admit the historically inaccurate term, "Ecclesiastical Nationalism." Historians will, of course, continue to interpret in their own way the complex historical phenomenon which we call Gallicanism. But for the moment we had best accept the stand taken by our author who knows his own mind, and seems to enjoy the advantage of setting his thesis in strong relief against the whole field of authorities on the subject.

For the author, Gallicanism "consists in the accord between king and clergy for the government of the Church in France whereby they control and curb the interference of the Holy See on the basis of earlier acquired rights." To this must be added a firm determination never to break with the Church of Rome. If at a later date the Civil Constitution of the Clergy seems to be the logical outcome of this defiant attitude, it is, says Martin, only because the original Gallicanism was corrupted by elements less pure. The understanding between the clergy and the king by which they kept the pope at a distance while they regulated their own ecclesiastical affairs was born "during the discussions which preceded the declaration of neutrality of May 25, 1408." But we detect the scholar's desire to be exact when the author assures us that a long remote preparation was needed, and that Gallicans became fully conscious of their position only after long experience.

Perhaps, after all, Professor Martin is not offering us anything essentially new. He makes no claim to have discovered buried or hitherto unexploited sources. More modestly, he presents merely a reinterpretation of what is already common property. His competence for this task no one will question. He had to his credit several monographs and a considerable volume of general historical synthesis, which should have equipped him for his work. And he modestly displays a rather complete mastery of the extensive literature in this and related fields. He has produced what looks like the standard work on the subject.

Those who regard the Four Articles of 1682 as the classic expression of Gallicanism might wonder why the author breaks off his study with the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438. But any discussion of "beginnings" should be elastic enough to allow differences of opinion. And certainly, there are reasons for concluding with the very definite formulation of French ecclesiastical policy in 1438. It is not so easy to settle upon a point at which to begin. The author's method of tracing back the several essential elements of Gallicanism separately is perhaps the best.

Martin distinguishes three such elements: the independence of the king in all temporal affairs; the supremacy of a general council over the pope; and the limitation of papal power by former conciliar decrees and canons. The first of these is largely the outcome of the long duel between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. The other two emerge from the Great Schism and the conciliar movement. It is amusing to note how personal interest often determined the thought processes of those who engaged in the several controversies. Not only more or less irresponsible pamphleteers, but bishops, individually and in groups, and also the great University of Paris allowed their thinking to be colored by circumstances, even on occasion shifting to the side they had formerly opposed. The arguments, too, by which papal apologists transformed an amply sufficient indirect power into a direct power over temporals are interesting, as are also the

steps by which the virtually unlimited spiritual power was whittled to smaller proportions. All in all, this is a very readable book on a very important topic.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN

St. Louis University

Gründung der neuen Jesuitenmission durch General-Pater Johann Philipp Roothaan, S.J. By JOSEF ALBERT OTTO, S.J. (Freiburg i.B. and St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1938. Pp. xxviii, 580. RM 16. $7.20.)

It is well known how the missionary spirit of the late Pope Pius XI influenced countless men and women of our age to assist in extending the kingdom of God on earth in heathen countries. But it directed also the mind of writers to record the work that was done in this respect in the past. Undoubtedly this was one of the chief aims of the above mentioned book: the first phase of the missionary activities of the Society of Jesus after its restoration in 1814. Father Otto justly attributes this tendency to the initiative of the General, P. Roothaan (1829-1853), the friend of Popes Gregory XVI and Pius IX, by some even called the " Black Pope ", and in the Society known as the " Great General ".

The writer describes first the suppression of the Society in 1773 and how it could survive partly through the delayed execution of the papal decree in Prussia, and especially on account of the opposition of Catherine II of Russia, who in this way became instrumental in bringing about the silent approval of its continuance in that country by Pius VII. As young Father Roothaan of Amsterdam became a Jesuit during that time and spent his first years in the Society as a missionary in Russia, he very naturally favored such a work after the restoration. Thus when he was elected General of the Society after the death of P. Fortis, who really started the movement, he increased this activity to one of the chief labors of his subjects, and therefore he may well be called " the missionary General of the Jesuits in the nineteenth century ".

The author says that with the vast historical sources on hand—the letters of General Roothaan alone number about 20,000, with three volumes of missionary letters—he had to confine himself to the most important events, and he took as his chief objective only the tendency of these activities, not a detailed account. This renders the book in a special way interesting for the average educated reader and helpful to students for reference.

He begins his main topic with the difficulties which the Society had after the restoration in order to become " mission-minded ", although Pius VII had given as one of the principal reasons for restoring it, preaching the faith among the heathens. Some of its members claimed that the true rebirth of the world after the cataclysm of the Revolution depended on the

education of the youth, and therefore their chief aim should be scholastic work. Others thought that Europe had the first right to receive the Society's ministration and these even asserted: "Our India is Europe." However, under the guidance of its General this changed quickly and in 1833 Father Roothaan could already write: "Scarcely anyone who enters the Order fails to volunteer for the missions."

The subject itself, the missions, is divided into eight chapters: the missions in the Orient, Africa, India, China and Japan, the United States of America, Canada, Latin America and the Antilles, and Oceanica. Father Otto begins each description with a short exposition of the faith and morals of the people when the Jesuits arrived, and usually ends the article with the result of their missionary labors at the time of the General's death (1853).

The first chapter, "Orient", includes the missions in the old Turkish empire, with the work in Syria in detail. It presents a variety of racial, national, and religious difficulties which had to be overcome. The second treats of India, which gradually became the "Promised Land" for the Jesuits during the 19th century. But the difficulties seemed at first almost insurmountable. First the language question, French, English, Portuguese or native, caused troubles. Then the customs of the country, its caste-system and the differences in rites brought misunderstandings. Finally the opposition from the Protestant missionaries who were supported by England, the resistance of the Portuguese clergy, who claimed special privileges and even resorted to schism to continue this independence, and a disagreement in the Society itself about accepting ecclesiastical dignities created various entanglements. The author believes that the *Pax Britannica* and the great missionary zeal of most of the members of the Society joined with the great wisdom of its General became, next to God's will, the principal means which overcame all these obstacles.

In China, where the suppression of the Society had brought the most dire results, the reconstruction began later, because the country was closed to foreign powers till England forced an entrance in 1839 and France followed in 1841. Thus only toward the end of the administration of Father Roothaan and in the midst of many difficulties some progress could be made to reestablish missions. However, Peking, the once flourishing missionary center of the Society, remained closed to his Fathers, because meanwhile it had been assigned to the Lazarists. It seems China was the *schmerzenskind* of the head of the Society. He wrote in 1845: "China China, the country for which the Society made more sacrifices than for any other, brought us more bitterness and more disappointment! How long will this continue?"

In the United States the missionary work among the Indians had begun before the administration of General Roothaan (1823), and in 1833 the second Council of Baltimore entrusted it to the Jesuit Fathers in a

special manner. Yet the results were not flattering during Father Roothaan's life. Some of these missionaries admitted the aborigines too easily into the Church and after the first fervor had passed, they returned to their idolatry. The General believed that Father De Smet was one of these too kind apostles. Therefore he wrote in 1851 to Msgr. Miege, S.J.: "The missions in the Rocky Mountains are tottering. The one among the Flatheads is lost already. Its founder himself has brought about its ruin." Father Otto does not give such a decisive verdict. He agrees more with Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. that in spite of his short administration (1840-1846) and his too romantic disposition, Father De Smet still deserves the name "the great Blackrobe".

The missionary labors of the Society in Canada began only in 1842, when Bishops Bourget of Montreal and Power of Toronto asked the Father General to revive the old missions of the Society and he joyfully consented. But the times in Canada had changed very much since the suppression of the Society there. Meanwhile Protestant missionaries obtained a foothold and were supported by the government. Thus a twofold battle was necessary to evangelize the Indians again. Still the Fathers made some progress during the lifetime of their superior.

In Latin America and the Antilles the frequent revolutions, the nationalistic tendencies of these various new governments, and the nomadic habits of the aborigines became the main obstacles to greater missionary success. In Mexico the Jesuits could only work secretly. In Oceania the great General of the Society merely laid the foundation for future missionary labors.

Father Otto devotes the last chapters of his book to the development of the missionary science of the Society and the difficulties which Father Roothaan had in this respect with other similar institutions, individual prominent missionaries, and the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. He defends the policy of the General. Today we know that he was mistaken in at least one of these movements, the question of separation of the Ludwig-Missionsverein from the Lyons Mission Society, which he opposes. Some inaccuracies are of minor importance. The author's statement (p. 10) that the conversion of the prince-priest Gallitzin was one of the causes of the persecution of the Society in St. Petersburg in 1820 seems exaggerated. The date 1731 (p. 83) is evidently a misprint for 1721. The bibliography of the sources is very extensive with over three hundred items listed. Thus the book is a valuable addition to the mission literature of the day and will be welcomed by historians.

FELIX FELLNER

St. Vincent College
Beatty, Pennsylvania

A History of American History. By MICHAEL KRAUS, PH.D., Assistant Professor of History in the College of the City of New York. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1937. Pp. x, 607. $3.75.)

Carl Becker, in his review of Harry Elmer Barnes's *History of Historical Writing* ("What is Historiography", *American Historical Review*, XLIV, 20 ff.), has pointed out the difficulties of such composition. The author of the volume under review recognizes those difficulties. This is far from being a definitive manual. Professor Kraus did not intend it to be such. In his preface he states that it was his purpose "to include only those individuals who were influential in the creation of a tradition of historical scholarship and who have contributed most to the writing of *American* (italics mine) history in a comprehensive manner." Consequently one finds no treatment of American writers whose interests lay in other fields—Prescott, Motley, Lea, Mahan, etc. On the other hand accounts are included of foreigners who wrote on American topics—Eberling, Graham, Botta, Von Holst, Trevelyan, Doyle, etc. Also, in the author's plan "military, naval, constitutional, diplomatic and religious histories are barely mentioned." The book must be judged by this design, though such limitations leave room for serious criticism. The field is still open for a study with a less restricted title.

Nor will there be agreement on the names selected to show the contributions which the author had in mind. Was not Jameson more "influential in the creation of a tradition of historical scholarship" than either Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson? There is missing also a note on documentary publications, historical journals and the work of historical societies. In his Bibliographical Note on Cultural History (pp. 481-491) and in his chapter on Biography, Professor Kraus evidently experienced a difficulty indicated by Professor Becker—the great number of authors begin to "gang up" on him; his list becomes a litany of names, and many other titles of equal significance occur to the reader. In his brief account of books on religion there is no mention of recent Catholic contributions. Rupert Hughes is alone singled out as a recent biographer of Washington. There is no point in making this selection merely because his is the first large-scale study since Irving.

Yet the volume has considerable merit. Professor Kraus writes clearly and often with elegance. He implements a great deal of information in his treatment, which also shows careful analyses and good synopses of the works considered. The correspondence of the authors has been generally used for facts and flavor. The manual will admirably serve its purpose, within the bounds set by the author, and should prove useful to graduate students. There are few typographical errors: "interpretative" is to be preferred to "interpretive" (pp. 453, 454, 466, and running head-lines of the chapter), and on page 513 the last word of the first line is misspelled.

J. Walter Coleman's *Molly Maguire Riots* (a Catholic University of America dissertation) is cited as an example of a correction of earlier distortion by anti-labor sentiment (p. 317).

LEO F. STOCK

Carnegie Institution of Washington

The Journal of Jean Cavelier, the Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Expedition, 1684–1688. Translated and annotated by Jean Delanglez, S.J., Ph.D. (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1938. Pp. 179. $2.50.)

Few incidents in the early history of North America have awakened greater interest or received more attention by American and European historians than the life and explorations of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, and the circumstances attendant upon his unfortunate settlement at Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast. The two accounts of the Texas venture by Father Anastasius Douay and Henri Joutel, telling of the misfortunes of the survivors, have long been available. But the one of Abbé Jean Cavelier had remained somewhat in the realm of the unreal. His complete *Memoir* is at last presented here for the first time with an excellent critical introduction.

It was Parkman who gave the industrious and scholarly historian of the Catholic Church in America, John Gilmary Shea, a copy of the report which the unscruplous brother of the great discoverer prepared for the French minister Seignelay. Shea lost no time in publishing this rare and heretofore unknown account, which appeared in 1858. This account, however, the editor of the present *Journal* has shown to be incomplete.

It is to the Spanish archives of Seville that we are indebted for the complete text so carefully edited now for the first time. In that magnificent collection of sources for the history of America, the result of Spanish industry and love for keeping records, a copy of a second and complete *Journal* of Jean Cavelier was discovered, which forms the subject of the present book. The editor availed himself of the photostat copy of this rare and important document now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library. The original text in French has been carefully reproduced opposite the English translation of the editor, and the statements of the interested and not always reliable brother of the illustrious discoverer and explorer have been carefully checked with letters of Robert Cavelier, the account of Joutel (the most reliable, concise and dependable), and all other sources that could throw light on the veracity of the crafty abbé.

The editor has attempted to vindicate in part the character of Jean Cavelier by urging a critical analysis of his actions. But no amount of sympathy or logical analysis can make an attractive or upright figure out of the selfish and unscrupulous Sulpician missionary. His unnatural conduct

towards his brother in 1680, when he almost ruined him by demanding payment of a debt was branded by Robert as "treachery". His deception of Tonty after the return of the survivors for the purpose of collecting his "monies" is hard to excuse, and his indifference after his return to France will remain a blotch upon his character. Jean Cavelier lived to the ripe old age of eighty-six and died rich in 1722 in the city of Rouen.

Father Delanglez has done a splendid piece of historical reconstruction and editing in the present book, the second in the series of studies published by the Institute of Jesuit History recently founded at Loyola University in Chicago. *The Journal of Jean Cavelier* is a source that no library interested in the early history of North America can afford to do without.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

University of Texas

The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century. By PERRY MILLER. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xi, 528. $3.75.)

In this first volume of what the author calls a topical analysis of 17th century New England Puritanism he makes three claims: that the thought of New England should be regarded "not from a New England, nor even from an American point of view", but that "it should be seen against the background of Europe"; that "the New England Puritans are the founders of the American nation"; and that they are the spokesmen "of what we call the Renaissance".

Seventeenth century Puritanism is, truly, an emanation of Europe and of united Christendom. It is Augustinian theology, but a narrowed adaptation of St. Augustine in which much of that great Church Father's thought is left out; in which a strong emphasis is laid upon the natural revulsions from his pagan life which plagued him after his conversion. Leaving aside the cardinal points of dogma which Puritanism rejected, it is Augustine at his hardest; Augustine turned against Rome; against "Papal tyranny" and "sacerdotal profiteering". Yet it is not wholly Augustinian. It holds traces too "of Aquinas and Scholasticism". It is from that point that Mr. Miller deduces the "spokesmanship for the Renaissance", since American Puritanism was "far enough away from Luther and Calvin to draw from the whole great wealth of revived learning" in its task of disproving papal claims.

Broadly speaking, one may discern in the Puritan mind, as analyzed here, not so entirely a rejection of Catholicism, as a rejection of "Romanism". One may detect a reflection of the mental attitude of those northern European peoples who, never conquered by the Roman Empire, standing outside of the imperial boundaries, became intensely suspicious (when the empire became Christian) of the Roman drive for unity of doctrine and liturgy and ecclesiastical government in western Europe, and looked upon

it as a new attempt at Roman political domination disguised as a universal religion. The emphasis with such peoples was laid upon local church independence, local political self-government, and when both were combined and national status arose, upon national churches. Rome to all of them gradually became a religious and political symbol of overwhelming domination. Puritanism is shown here as standing equally against such "domination" and the logical disintegration of Protestantism.

That centrifugal independence carried over to America and became a basic American thought. It was a thought common, in varying degrees and form, to the majority of Americans of the 169 years of American life prior to the secession of 1776 from the British Empire. The astonishing thing about it is that so much of basic Catholic principles came through such channels unconsciously and unaltered to influence and form our fundamental Americanism.

It is certain that to the anti-monarchical, republican, parliamentarian, New Englander, political "independence" meant, from the start, secession from the slowly evolving British Empire, which had begun with the union of England and Scotland in one crown, but with two parliaments, two sets of laws, two strongly differing peoples; imperial development being accelerated by the evolution of commonwealths on the northern American continent.

To a majority of Americans, however, (even in New England, where the Puritans "formed only one fifth of the population") "independence" did not mean secession. It meant local autonomy, with unity in allegiance to the crown alone, and rejection in all else of domination by the crown or by the British parliament, or, later, even by the federal government. This American majority idea was the seed of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This basic American political thought of free states within an Empire, carried through the secession or revolution of 1776 and the abortive secession of New England in 1814, to the second great secession of 1861-65, which we call the Civil War, though not more truly than the war of 1776, or the War between the States, or the Rebellion, according to the manner in which we understand American history.

The kind of New Englander whose intellectual and theological heritage and product is the subject of this book desired a unitary national republic, and won it, in 1865, supported by those portions of the west which had been influenced by New England, against the former majority desiring a federal union of American republics. Those two equally respectable but incompatible ideas are both contained in the constitution, but New England prevailed in 1865, and so did found the American nation.

New England's moulding of American thought to the exclusion of the great body of southern intellectuals, who held to the federated league of American nations, may well be traced (quite aside from learning and knowledge shared by both) to a positive theology, applied to daily life in

a driving personal piety, which New England possessed aggressively and the South, in general, eithed lacked or did not assert. When in the South, individuals like "Stonewall" Jackson did possess and assert the same characteristics, victory in war hung long in the balance, to be decided only by the death of the individual.

This book is an excellent exposition of great importance to Catholics It is marred by only one flaw. The print, paper and binding are all of inferior quality, wholly disproportionate to the price. The book merited better treatment by the publishers.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS

Georgetown University

Tarnished Warrior, Major-General James Wilkinson. By JAMES R. JACOBS. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xv, 380. $3.50.)

Major-General James A. Wilkinson was a character who never could have existed except in fiction or on a turbulent frontier. In the days when the American continent was largely uninhabited and three or four countries were still reaching out for their share of the vast rich wilderness, he turned from his medical studies to become an officer in the revolution. His ambition, mixed with the ability to impress himself upon important personages, won him rather rapid promotion in the ranks. But his fatal procrastination and unguarded tongue created a situation which took him out of the army before the end of the struggle for independence. Then, like so many discontented individuals of his time, he turned to the frontier to win fame and fortune. His longing for pretty uniforms and the prestige of army titles drew him back into the service. For thirty years he held high military trust along the western and southwestern rim of the American frontier. During this time he was the friend of most of our early presidents, a companion of many of the conspirators of the era, a pensioner of Spain, a master intriguer, often in trouble but generally able to escape his enemies by hook or crook. At last, he was recalled to the old northwest to take charge of the forces on Lake Ontario in the War of 1812. At this task he failed ingloriously and was retired finally from the army for good. He employed the last years of his life in writing an autobiography, which remains as an unsurpassed example of self-glorification. In his old age, Mexico attracted him as a field in which he might recoup his squandered fortunes. There he died in 1825.

Just how far Wilkinson went in consorting with conspirators while holding the highest command in the army of the United States has remained for a long time one of the historical enigmas of our early national existence. Gradually documentary evidence from Spanish archives has revealed much concerning the facts of his position as a Spanish pensioner. Major Jacobs attributes the General's capacity for escaping censure in such underhanded

dealings to his remarkable duplicity and unscrupulous self-interest, which never hesitated to betray a partner in crime if such betrayal seemed necessary for his own safety.

The author employs a style which is fresh, vigorous and appealing to set forth a wealth of material which throws light on this peculiar character; and incidentally upon the times and places which made such a character possible. The evidence of research is apparent in a continuous series of footnotes on almost every page. This being the case, it is too bad that many statements occur without references which would be more satisfying if the sources were quoted. Again, one feels frequently that statements which are substantiated by quotations have been made to mean more than the quotation justifies. This is done by a sentence or two of explanation from the pen of the author. Some random examples of such passages, lacking references, are to be found on pp. 79, 80 and 82 where the character of the Spaniards is described; on pp. 232-234 where the Burr conspiracy is treated. Major Jacobs' vigorous style leads him into frequent subjective estimates of individuals, often rather disparaging to them, e.g., p. 38, when speaking of Gates; p. 282 and ff. when dwelling on the generals of the War of 1812.

Treating as much background material as the author does, his general accuracy is commendable, but some slips in rather obvious dates are a little surprising. For example, he says Napoleon declared war on Spain, March 9, 1793 (p. 135). At that period the French Revolution was still at its worst and Napoleon was far from being an international character. On the same page Genet is spoken of as being "recalled" which is hardly the accurate term to use in his regard. On pp. 301 and 302 there is a confusion of dates which is bewildering and can hardly be blamed on the typist. Major Jacobs has Wilkinson at Plattsburg "December 7, 1813;" "a month later" is quoted in the note as being "January 7, 1813;" and "several days later . . . January 16, 1815," Wilkinson has a talk with some of his officers. Then the date becomes "January 16, 1813" in a note on the next page, and finally the passage ends on "January 27, 1814". However, this is not typical of the care with which other references seem to be made.

As a picture of an extraordinary man acting against the set of extraordinary times, the book is a contribution to a better knowledge of the dark side of American frontier history. The nation at large may wish to forget that there was such a side, but the historian will be glad to know the truth in order better to interpret events of that period.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON

Marquette University

Catholic Immigration Colonization Projects, 1815–1860. By Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, O.P., Ph.D. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1939. Pp. ix, 290. $3.00.)

Catholic immigrants of the United States who founded colonies in the "West" in the early decades of the 19th century were following a well-established Catholic tradition and one that was thoroughly American. Their experiences afford a fruitful and attractive field for research and are furnishing inspiration for a number of interesting studies.

The author of *Catholic Immigration Colonization Projects, 1815-1860* begins logically by reviewing the adverse conditions confronting immigrant Catholics before 1860 in the more populous sections of the United States, despite efforts of immigrant aid societies and of several bishops to assist, guide, and protect them.

There follows a comprehensive survey of organized, unorganized, and disorganized attempts between 1815 and 1860 to colonize them in Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, and ten states of what we now call the Middle West. An entire chapter is devoted to the unique contribution made to the work in Iowa by Bishop Loras and Father Donoghue and in Minnesota by Bishop Cretin and Father Pierz.

In its own way, each colonizing undertaking of which we read served a most beneficent purpose and, with three notable exceptions, appears to have been at least moderately successful. But temporary deprivation of the advantages of church and school, the hardships incident to lack of adequate organization, and the discontent and discouragement that could threaten and even effect the complete ruin of a colony, too frequently attended these isolated efforts at meeting a recognized need. Therefore, with the greatly increased immigration of the 40's and 50's, some far-sighted Catholics, led by the brilliant Thomas D'Arcy McGee, called together the Buffalo Convention of 1857 for the purpose of organizing a national company to promote and direct the work of colonizing Catholics on the western lands of the United States and Canada. The convention was ill-fated in that it failed of its original purpose, but measurably successful insofar as it directed men's attention westward and probably was responsible for the consequent improved situation of thousands of Catholic families.

The subject of colonization is a difficult one to treat because of the nature of the sources upon which one must rely, but chiefly, perhaps, because it is almost impossible to evaluate correctly the human element that figures so largely in the character and development of such enterprises. Nevertheless, the author seems to have succeeded remarkably well in her undertaking. The work is scholarly, giving evidence of wide research and careful, systematic, and judicious use of materials. The bibliography is well organized, the index complete and serviceable, and the conclusion an admirable summing-up of the contents of the book. There are three excellent maps.

One finds little in this treatise to criticise, but we might question whether the conditions that the members of the Buffalo Convention were endeavoring to remedy were of a "temporary nature" as we are told (p. 265). Only one of these conditions, the Know Nothing activity, was becoming less alarming, but those that were emphasized at the convention grew so much worse with the years that, for the express purpose of trying to do what the meeting of 1857 had failed to do, the Irish Catholic Convention was called in St. Louis in 1869, the Irish Catholic Colonization Association was organized in Chicago in 1878, and the Castle Garden Mission was established in New York in 1884. Perhaps also the statement comparing the support of the Church by Germans and Irish respectively should be modified or explained (p. 110), and a similar statement with respect to the Germans be qualified or omitted (p. 169).

It is to be regretted that the period studied is so extensive. Within about 200 pages we find a brief history of approximately seventy colonies, together with an account of several projects that failed to materialize, and at least passing mention of numerous off-shoots from the original colonies. We realize, therefore, that none could receive exhaustive treatment, and must be satisfied to learn about the beginnings of each, some significant events and occasional amusing or picturesque incidents of their development, and their present religious and economic status. However, this treatment and our introduction to six religious communities, some twenty bishops and about one hundred other characters, many of them heroic, make the book not only readable, but extraordinarily interesting.

SISTER MARY EVANGELA

Clarke College
Dubuque, Iowa

The Westward Movement: A Book of Readings on our Changing Frontiers. By INA FAYE WOESTEMEYER with the editorial collaboration of J. Montgomery Gambrill. (New York: D. Appleton Century Co. 1939. Pp. xv, 500. $2.25.)

This is a type of source-book excellently adapted to its purpose, which is to furnish high-school and college students, and the general reader besides, with a series of texts, most of them from contemporary sources, on the always engrossing topic of the westward movement. The type is not a novel one, being exemplified in numerous compilations already in print. Here, for the first time, it would appear, it is used in connection with the topic named. The plan consists substantially in assembling the materials into topical groups, major and minor, with explanatory comments introducing the groups and in many cases the individual selections, the result being that the latter present themselves in the gross as a coherent and unified historical whole which readily lends itself to straight-ahead, con-

secutive reading. In the volume under review the three main groups or divisions into which its contents are distributed illustrate successively the influences that drew the pioneers westward, the experiences that befell them on the way, and the economic and cultural conditions that developed as a result of this shifting of population from east to west. In range of time the selections cover the entire range of the westward movement from the earliest treks away from the Atlantic seaboard in the colonial period to the officially recognized passing of the frontier in the early nineties.

The editors have discharged their task with commendable thoroughness and accuracy. Intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with the general fund of authentic source-material available on the subject treated is in evidence. The illustrative texts set out are derived from sources as far apart chronologically as the *Discoveries of John Lederer* (London, 1672) and Percy G. Ebbutt's *Emigrant life in Kansas* (London, 1886). They embody a vast and kaleidoscopic variety of data, of incident, personal experience, description and reflection, the net result of which is to bring home to the reader with emphasis what a tremendous factor in American history the westward movement really was. Reading these first-hand and often graphically written records of the great drama of expanding settlement towards the setting sun, one feels the weight of some at least of the evidence supporting the Turnerian hypothesis that the advancing frontier "explains American history." It does not, as a matter of fact, explain it as satisfactorily as its author believed; but it does unquestionably furnish at least a partial solution of the general problem of our national history.

People notoriously disagree as to the precise choice of selections that should enter into a compilation such as this. The reviewer, for his part, regrets that the editors of the volume did not see fit to include one or other passages from the *Jesuit Relations*. So well-known an authority on Americana as Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg has written that "the Jesuits were the first historians of the Westward Movement," in view of which circumstance any sourcebook illustrating the subject that does not draw from some of its content on their classic relations would seem to miss at least a point of perfection.

The volume reaches a high level of editorial accuracy. Only one or other slip came under the reviewer's notice. "Jolliet," not "Joliet" (pp. 7, 496), is the approved form of the explorer's name. "Verendrys" (pp. 8, 500) for "Vérendrye" is unauthorized. "Klapper" (pp. ix, 179, 488) should read "Kappler."

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

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Chicago

American History Since 1865. By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1939. Pp. x, 682. $3.50.)

Professor Stephenson of the University of Minnesota has in this history of the United States since the War between the States contributed a worthy volume to the excellent Harper's Historical Series edited by the scholarly and distinguished president of the University of Minnesota who contributes a foreword. While in recent American history there is some danger in the use of a single textbook, especially when several are available, lest the student arrive at an *exparte* interpretation through colored glasses of an author-commentator rather than attain an independent, non-partisan view of facts, somewhat doubtful, and of controversial questions for which only time can give a proper perspective, yet in this volume the danger is reduced to a minimum because of the comprehensiveness of treatment, the tolerance of tone, the liberality of view, the courage of expression, which should challenge disagreement on the part of a student who will think, and the interesting style which should drive students to read more history and peruse the citations in the select bibliographies which the author has obviously digested.

No conventional survey, it is written with vigor, courage, and candor. There is no doubt as to where the author stands in a controversy between labor and capital, between liberal and conservative elements in what he calls the "immigrant churches", between old guardism and progressivism, and between unions and corporations. He strikes not only at political corruption, but at corrupt heroes and crooked politicians from the days of Grant to the Harding era. Possibly some of his phrases and adjectives are too strong. His sympathy with Altgeld, the Haymarket convicts, the Sacco-Vanzetti victims, Eugene Debs and the men who fought government by injunction, labor leaders excepting Kearney, the undernourished of the industrial cities, the farmers fighting against their depression into a peasantry, and the aspirations of the Negroes whom the Fourteenth Amendment forgot—all this brings him into line with the more modern and forward looking analysis of the past few decades. Rarely does he go too far, but there is a tendency to overlook the valuable contributions and the honest purposes of many economic royalists, and of some conservative judges, and of the bourgeoisie whose idol was Coolidge rather than Hoover and who found "stadium thinking" pleasantly easy. This volume is guilty of no "hard-bitten nineteenth century attitude of the self-made man toward labor unions.'

In no similar text is the story of labor handled better, nor the decisions in leading labor cases. Again the question of immigration is given the ample stress one would anticipate from an author who has launched forth volumes in immigration and religious aspects of Swedish immigration. The *Völkerwanderung* is to him a familiar movement. The discussion of foreign

affairs and hyphenated-American interference in American-European diplomacy is done with skill, and no where more sharply than in connection with our unnecessary war with Spain, concerning which he writes:

> Pope Leo XIII offered his services as a mediator, but to quote the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, "There was ample reason why from the point of view of the government at Washington this was impossible." Protestant America would not be cheated out of a war by the head of the Roman Catholic Church. In a country where the anti-Catholic feeling was so strong that the formal unveiling of a statue of Père Marquette in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington had to be abandoned in 1896, there could be no dictation from Rome.

The paragraphs on baseball indicate a personal interest; the space assigned to religious influences and to the churches is quite in accord with one's expectations from an author who has made his contributions to the study of Luther and of Lutheranism in the Northwest. Too many American historians, even those in social history, refuse to consider this most important phase of American life and of direct European cultural influence in this land. With Professor Stephenson there will not be complete agreement; but at all events his references are instructive, friendly although at times provocative, and numerous to the Catholic Church and some of its official representatives, its unofficial spokesmen, and leading members. There are such personages and subjects as Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor, the school question, Cahenslyism, the attacks of the A.P.A. and K.K.K., the Bennett School Law in Wisconsin, the liberalism of Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishops Ireland and Keane, the Friar Lands, religion in political campaigns, the Blaine-Cleveland election, Theodore Roosevelt in Rome, Al Smith in 1928, and Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana who struck oil in strange places.

Withal this book deserves more than the general fate of a text; it deserves readers who read history not for credits but for entertainment and information and a possible understanding of these trying times in the light of the immediate past.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

Catholic University of America

Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876–1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams. Edited by W. Stull Holt. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LVI. No. 4.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. 314. $2.50.)

For many years Jameson and Bassett were alone in the field of American historiography. Several volumes, none entirely satisfactory, have recently appeared and others are in the making. There is needed, first of all, as in any other field of history, the publication of source material. Such is the

nature of the volume under review. When the letters of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, head of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington when that division was the clearing house of all things historical in America, are published, whose letters are broader in interest than those of Herbert Adams, the student will have in these two collections materials from which a better account of American historiography and historical activities may be written.

When Professor Adams brought the German seminar method to America the historical profession had its birth, and Johns Hopkins University became the cradle of the new scholarship. Professor Holt here presents a selection of letters which passed between Adams and his students and associates between 1876 and 1901. And what a galaxy of correspondents they were: George Bancroft, von Holst, Channing, James Bryce, Sparks, Woodrow Wilson, Frederick Turner, Jameson, Justin Winsor, Schouler, Bassett, and many others of equal renown. American history was then virgin field for prospecting in the scientific manner; wherever the pick was struck rich ore was certain to be found. As one reads in these letters the studies pursued, the bibliographies consulted, and the materials used, it is hard to escape the conviction that the graduate student of today has a tougher assignment, and that more is expected of him. The difference is that the men of those times had a wider culture and were interested in more history; their efforts were not confined to the narrow limits of present-day dissertation topics.

The Hopkins influence was wide-spread. We are here given a picture of pioneers leaving Baltimore to build up historical departments and interests in many communities—all turning loyally to Adams and "the Hopkins" for advice and encouragement as missionaries to Rome. They tell of courses offered, of texts used, of material difficulties, and they give much university gossip. Modern university administrators will learn from this correspondence that internal strife is not new, as witness ex-President Scott's account of the dissensions at Ohio State (pp. 230-234), of William Trent's description of the situation at Sewanee (pp. 249-250), or of Bassett's discontent with Trinity (pp. 246, 256-257) where, when the report was made that the college owned stock in the tobacco trust, "the holy element of the Church howled."

There are eight letters from Woodrow Wilson, who had been a student at the University, 1883-1885, and later a lecturer to graduate students. The editor has given (p. 90) an interesting note on this relationship. In the beginning the future President thought Adams "was too much of a showman to be a thorough scholar" and permitted his students to starve "on a very meagre diet of ill-served lectures". Later these judgments gave way to fulsome praise. In 1898 Wilson was proposed for the presidency of Amherst, but Adams, a trustee of the College, evidently placed stress on securing an Amherst man for the position.

Herbert Adams had much to do with the organization of the American Historical Association in 1884, and was for years its secretary. A number of letters refer to the annual meetings, the establishment of the *American Historical Review*, and the activities of the association, especially the planning of the American Nation series.

It is disappointing to find so few commentaries by the profession on contemporary events which were crowding the American scene during these years. Bassett writes of the Negro situation in North Carolina and suggests that "the way to help the Negro in the South is to educate the white man." Another interesting bit is from Edward Eggleston, written in April 1898: "I don't care for historical study for the sake of American citizenship. Living right at the door of Congress in this tiresome time I don't seem to care for American citizenship; it is a brand that covers a discouraging lot of clap-trap;—the study of history with reference to it has made half a nation of irrational jingoes."

Professor Holt has written a scholarly introduction which describes the specific contributions of the letters and evaluates the great service rendered by Professor Adams to which he supplies helpful footnotes where they are needed.

LEO F. STOCK

Carnegie Institution of Washington

A History of Europe. From the Invasions to the XVI Century. By HENRI PIRENNE. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. 1939. Pp. 624. $5.00.)

There is a peculiar timeliness in the appearance of this English edition of Pirenne's *Histoire de l'Europe* now that the attention of the world is again centered especially on the activities of that country where this book first took shape. Taken prisoner by the Germans in 1916, Henri Pirenne, professor of history at the University of Ghent, was permitted to lecture in the camp at Holzmunden where he was interned for a while. But looked upon as dangerous he was eventually isolated in Thuringia, a fortunate circumstance in one respect in that here he found time to begin his story of Europe's evolution from the first great Teuton invasions down to modern times. Deprived of books, with the exception of a small classroom manual, yet he put down in orderly fashion, but in broad, masterful strokes, the great historical movements which he saw related to the tragedy of which he was too intimately a part. He was writing for himself. "The essential thing is to kill time", he declared in January, 1917, "and not allow oneself to be killed by it." His *History* is published as it came from his pen—bold, vigorous, simple, due in large manner, no doubt, to the circumstances under which he wrote. His son, who contributes an interesting preface to this English edition, speaks of the

"solitude" in which his father wrote, "a solitude occupied with meditation", which often opened up the wide horizons which are discernible throughout.

Although Pirenne's monument is undoubtedly his *Histoire de Belgique*, and although he published in a more finished form, and at a later date, his *Les Villes des Moyen Age, La Civilisation accidental en moyen Age*, and finally his *Mohomet et Charlemagne*, all three of which are partial developments of his *Historie de l'Europe*, nevertheless the latter is considered by many as Pirenne's masterpiece. It is, as his son says, the outcome of his thirty-five years of research, the synthesis of all his knowledge, ripened in meditation at a time when deprived of books he could confront that knowledge with his own thought, offered in all its spontaneity to those who seek the explanation of those great movements of history which lie at the foundation of our own times.

The armistice determined the period at which his *History* would end. In 1918 he had practically completed the 16th century, and when he returned to Belgium he failed to take up where he had left off. Hence it is but a chapter of that fuller story which Pirenne had hoped to write. Nevertheless, it is a singularly original contribution to the historiography of European affairs. Book One treats of the breaking up of the Roman World in the West to the arrival and the consequences of the Musulman invasions; Books Two, Three, Four and Five consider respectively the Carolingian Epoch, Feudal Europe and The War of the Investitures, the Crusades and the Formation of the Bourgeoisie; Book Six gives the beginnings of the Western States; Book Seven is of particular interest to the Catholic historian in that it is partially concerned with the hegemony of the papacy in its relation to the Church and to the European states; Book Eight gives in broad outlines the European crises from 1300 to 1500, namely the Avignon Captivity, the Great Schism and the Hundred Years War; and finally Book Nine is an interesting discussion of the Renaissance and Reformation, with a pertinent chapter on international and internal politics at the beginning of modern times. The book has an index and the translation is well-done.

JOSEPH B. CODE

The Catholic University of America

The Medieval Library. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 682. $5.00.)

While the larger portion of this volume is the work of various scholars, Professor Thompson has done no little service to students of the Middle Ages in bringing this material together. Its value, however, will be most appreciated by the student of the history of libraries for whom it is principally intended. To a lesser degree it will also prove useful to those

interested in Latin paleography in that it provides in a more readily accessible form a good measure of information on medieval manuscripts and often gives the present location of such works. The bibliography, in the form of copious footnotes, is also of such a nature as to be of most value to such students. To one chiefly interested in the cultural history of the Middle Ages, its value will not be so great. The various chapters on the libraries of medieval Italy, Germany, France, England, etc., are largely a mere catalogue of authors. This indicates to us in greater detail what the Middle Ages read, but in general the nature of their reading is already known to scholars; hence the *lacunae* in our information on the cultural aspects of the period that will be filled in by this work are not particularly significant.

Those familiar with some of the other works of Professor Thompson will be gratified to find in the pages of this volume less evidence of what may be characterized as his flair for contradicting himself. But one or two such contradictions deserve mention. Thus Cluny and Citeaux are condemned as being "inhospitable toward, if not actually hostile to" the cultivation of literature (p. 131), while we read on page 226: "The copying of books was one of the most important activities at Cluny. So important was this occupation that the scribes were excused from part of their religious duties." While it may be true that the promotion of scholarship and the cultivation of literature are not synonymous with a display of zeal in the *scriptorium*, nevertheless it is also true that this same zeal is not identifiable with actual hostility to literary activity. But perhaps the most conspicuous contradiction is found in his characterization of a monastery as a "low-grade country boarding-school" (p. 591) where everybody was herded together and the serious-minded monk lacked both quiet and equipment to read, and if he attempted to do so was the butt of coarse ridicule by his fellows. When this is compared with the statements abounding in the following four chapters (pp. 594-661), which incidentally are the only ones in the book that manifest an understanding and sympathetic approach to the problem, one cannot help but wonder if Professor Thompson had bothered to read them. He might further have reflected that Bede, Alcuin, Anselm and a host of others like them were trained and did their work in these same "low-grade country boarding-schools".

It will strike many as strange also that no mention is made of nuns and their libraries except for a short paragraph (p. 609). This is understandable with regard to most countries by reason of a lack of any information on this matter, but one is a little surprised in the chapter on "Libraries of Medieval Germany" to find no mention of Gandersheim and Hohenburg at least.

To the Catholic mind there will also appear rather persistently throughout the major portion of the volume a note of ill-concealed hostility to monasticism, its ideals and labors. This is no doubt an unconscious atti-

tude begotten of an inability to comprehend the animating motive within the institution. But while this may in a sense explain, it does not excuse in a historical work a gratuitous assertion of the following type: "Despite noble exceptions, the medieval scriptorium was more often a treadmill for meaningless labor than it was a shrine where the expiring flame of literary culture was sedulously preserved" (p. 31). To some it may well have been "meaningless labor", but that this was the usual attitude would seem to require some sustaining evidence. Further, while some may have had little solicitude for books and thus allowed them to perish, the fact should not be too lightly passed over that time and war and especially the sectarian fanaticism of the 16th and 17th centuries have taken a toll that we cannot estimate. With this in mind it will not, for example, seem so "strange that no catalogue of St. Alban's survives" (p. 379). On the contrary, in view of the ruthless destruction of everything that could in any way be interpreted as savoring of Catholicism, it should occasion no little amazement that anything has survived. Some slight idea of the havoc thus wrought may, indeed, be gathered from an occasional passing statement (pp. 397, 502, 505, 552), but the definite impression prevails that most of the various contributors to the volume would prefer to touch upon this fact as lightly as possible.

Finally no review of this work would be complete without due praise being given the University of Chicago Press for producing such an excellent example of what the printer's art can become in the hands of those who appreciate the worth of a book.

CHARLES E. SCHRADER

University of Detroit

The Royal Prerogative (1603-1648). A Study in English Political and Constitutional Ideas. By FRANCIS D. WORMUTH. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 124. $2.00.)

This small work is intended as a concise statement of the author's opinions relative to the philosophies and jurisprudences behind constitutional controversies in England prior to the Civil War. It does not purport to be a piece of profound research. It presents "novel conclusions about royalist theories, political and legal", in that period. The effect of these generalizations is a tendency to refute the argument that Parliament was then the upholder of the peoples' rights against monarchical tyranny. The book is admittedly argumentative. At its conclusion, there is a slight reference which perhaps leaves the impression that the author is in agreement with the present American shift to administrative justice and highly centralized political authority.

Precision of factual detail and maximum lucidity of expression cannot be expected of a work characterized by bold and sweeping generalizations

which pass authoritative judgment on the political, constitutional, legalistic and philosophical theories of practically all the great historical figures contributing to the rationalization of events in English history during the first half of the 17th century. But the daring patterns into which shrewdly selected zones of politico-philosophical conflict, historically significant, have been fitted, evidence the author's effort to escape from the often stereotyped presentation of this phase of English political theory, and command the reader's admiration, however much he may disagree with the evaluation of controversial incidents. Thus the statement that "Aristotelianism in the hands of Marsiglio had already proved its strength as a weapon for cambating the papacy" (p. 44), unsupported by any documentation, is perhaps ambiguous. But it does introduce the concept of the Aristotelian theory of natural law into a situation depicted by so many other writers without mention of pre-Reformation thinking. Insight may be detected in the author's recognition that while the parliamentarians always professed adherence to an objective common law, still a doctrine of parliamentarian sovereignty eventually emerged.

Chapter VI, which analyzes various royalist theories of kingship, represents the author at his best in the use of the comparative method. In this chapter, the philosophies of King James I, Roger Manwaring, and Sir Robert Filmer, "the three great systematists of the royalist cause" are compared and contrasted. While these three writers agree that monarchy was the "natural" form of political organization, it was Manwaring who relied almost exclusively upon a theory of divinely conferred sovereignty. Filmer, like James, believed in the "naturalistic" conception of kingship, but characteristically emphasized the historical argument, assimilating "political rule of patriarchal authority". James is definitely eulogized by such statements as: "he claimed that right (divine right of kings) in order to teach subjects their duty, to combat Jesuitical and 'popular' errors, rather than because he wished to exercise it" (p. 93). Doubtless some readers will consider this statement as somewhat provocative and unproved.

The juridical significance of the struggle between Lord Coke (champion of the common law) and Lord Ellesmere (defender of chancery) is adequately depicted as part of the broader contest between conflicting notions of high prerogative and the legal theory of the constitution. The ideas of the state and sovereignty and of the origin of government, as understood by various political thinkers, such as Francis Bacon, Hobbes, Hooker and the like are explained. The author was particularly "anxious that Roger Manwaring be . . . recognized as a theorist at least of the stature of Maistre".

From the viewpoint of scholastic jurisprudence and political philosophy, neither the theory of the parliamentary faction, which was inclined to identify the positive common law with the *jus naturale* itself, nor the later

doctrine of parliamentary absolutism was acceptable. The dogma of state absolutism advocated by the royalists was likewise untenable according to scholasticism. Aquinas postulated an objective, extrinsic, immutable moral order to which political sovereignty, whatever its form, was subordinate. The people were free to vest this sovereignty in parliament or in the crown or in both. But within the framework of the moral order, the state whether " monistic " or " pluralistic " must function. While the author has referred *en passant* to the philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas, it is to be hoped that in subsequent editions he will assert definitely the difference between the pre-Reformation theory of natural law and the post-Reformation conceptions, in order more completely to measure structurally and functionally the wisdom of the theories of government and politics which were advanced in one of the most fascinating epochs of English history.

BRENDAN F. BROWN

The Catholic University of America

The Sun at Noon: Three Biographical Sketches. By KENNETH B. MURDOCK. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 327. $2.75.)

In this volume Professor Murdock presents sketches of three minor though important literary figures of the 17th century. Though they differ in many respects, the writers here considered have much in common: they were all of Oxfordshire; they all belonged to the same social class; and they all sought and hoped to find an object of faith, what Donne called " the sun at noon ".

These sketches would be better called " spiritual " or " intellectual " biographies, for the author is throughout concerned with the mental conflicts of his subjects and their search for eternal truth. But with something of the novelist's skill Professor Murdock brings in sufficient external facts to make the studies interesting and alive, and he vividly relates the lives of these three people, bound up, as they were, with the vital issues of the times in which they lived.

Elizabeth Tanfield was a precocious though modest child who at an early age learned to read English and several of the continental languages, and became interested in theology. Married at 17 to Sir Henry Cary, she proved herself a loving and devoted wife, though her charity to the poor often exceeded her husband's generosity and led to his charging her with prodigality. Her interest in books and learning took her to St. Augustine and other Fathers of the Church. She had already read Calvin and Hooker and remained unconvinced, but the light of truth began gradually to dawn, and at last she saw her sun at noon in the Catholic Church in which she found an answer to all her intellectual and spiritual problems. Incurring the displeasure of her husband, her family, the king, and the court, she nevertheless accepted the faith of the ages, and with it she

received a peace of soul and an ease of mind that made all her other troubles fade into insignificance.

Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, inherited his mother's interest in learning and likewise many of her virtues, for he too was a lover of truth, honesty, justice, and peace. Reason dictated his every act: for him reason was supreme, not, indeed, above faith, for he felt that reason should lead him to faith. His career in government cost him many a severe struggle in his attempts to maintain his ideals among many of his colleagues whose consciences had long since ceased to be heard. Tempted at times, he admitted, to follow his mother into the Catholic Church, he felt unable to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility: he over-exercised the gift of reason, and never received the gift of faith. To the end he remained loyal and devoted to the Church of England, but his mind was never quite satisfied. He died as he had lived—nobly, in a final act of bravery.

John Wilmot, born and bred in the fine tradition of courtiers' sons, brilliant and graceful, grew up to be the most dissolute courtier of a dissolute court. Giving himself up completely to the pleasures of sense, his one criterion of worth and value was physical delight. He outraged all codes of morals and all conventions of society in striving after the things that brought him that for which he lived. Yet shadows of something better, something higher, fleeted across his mind, and when he came to die at the age of 34, prematurely aged and broken down by disease and debauchery, he was brought to repentance by hearing read the fifty-third chapter of Isaias. His uncertainty and his doubts were banished; the shadows became realities; his fears were allayed.

These three characters were depicted by Professor Murdock against the background of their stirring times, an age pulsating with interest in religion, in politics, and in literature. We also catch occasional glimpses of other literary figures: Jonson, Carew, Waller, Donne, Cowley, Davenant, and others.

The volume is supplied with a copious index, bibliographical notes on the authorities consulted, and a few necessary footnotes. The author forestalls the possible objections of scholars that his work is not "scholarly" or "exhaustive" by insisting that his purpose was to show the relation of his three characters "to some major interests of their time." For this reason he has not included as much literary criticism as most readers will expect.

Professor Murdock's infrequent use of dates is perhaps the most objectionable feature of his book. His failure to be sufficiently specific in his chronology often leaves the reader and, one feels, occasionally the author himself, somewhat confused. If one cannot always accept Professor Murdock's conclusions, one can profit much from his learning and his

research. The volume deserves a place in the library of every student of the 17th century; even the general reader will find it easy and enjoyable reading.

GEORGE L. KANE

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The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760. By BASIL WILLIAMS. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1939. Pp. xviii, 464. $5.00.)

In 400 pages Mr. Williams has given us an exhaustive history of England from the accession of George I to the death of George II. This is Volume XI of the *Oxford History of England*. His introduction stresses the essential unity of the period which comes as "an oasis of tranquillity between two agitated epochs . . . and seems to concentrate in itself all the faults and merits that we are apt to think of as specially characteristic of the whole eighteenth century." The merits of the age are common sense and order, individual enterprise and the development of freedom, the first stirrings since the Protestant Revolt of the spirit of toleration and humanitarianism which are asserting themselves amid the dominant faults: materialism, coarseness and even brutality, a general disregard for the poor and the weak, an Erastian church, and a general unresponsiveness to spiritual values.

The author sees the epoch as divided into a time of preparation under Stanhope and Walpole, and a time of rapid external development under Carteret and Pitt. The first five chapters present a study of the English government, central and local, and the religious, social, and economic life of all classes in country and town. Then follows a detailed, year to year study of the ministries of Stanhope and Walpole, and an inquiry into the condition of the army and navy. The central interest of the next section is the War of the Austrian Succession, with, as interlude, a short but vivid account of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the 145. The development of Scotland, Ireland, the Colonies and India is next dealt with; then "Newcastle in Search of a Policy" prepares the way for a judicious study of Pitt. Here the political history ends, but not the book, for Mr. Williams is too wise a historian to ignore the growth of science and history, the arts and literature and the influence of these upon the life of the nation. A detailed critical bibliography, lists of office holders, nine maps, and an adequate index complete the volume.

The quality of Mr. Williams' scholarship, as shown in his history, is truly remarkable. Every source of information, both original and secondary seems to have been carefully studied, and, as carefully balanced. The student who follows this author as guide is sure to cover his field in the most thorough fashion. Some parts of the narrative are weighed down with details, especially those dealing with the intricacies of foreign policy

or the numerous world-wide campaigns of the Seven Years' War, but such accumulation of facts is inevitable in a work of this nature which must meet the requirements of a reference book for the complete history of 50 years. But, by and large, the chapters are surprisingly interesting, alive with timely anecdote and pregnant speech. The style is simple, clear, pointed, and forceful, while a play of wit and humor adds to its charm.

The author is most impartial and fair-minded. He is obviously concerned with the truth, and the truth alone. He always weighs evidence and when he pronounces judgment it is a considered and mature exercise of the reason and not an ebullition of prejudices or imagination. Many examples of this characteristic might be given; two will suffice. In the field of political history, he differs from many historians, including Macaulay, who ridicule the sending of English forces against the French coast at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, and shows that these raids "distracted the French head-quarters and caused them to withdraw troops from the campaign against Frederick who warmly encouraged these diversions." In the religious field, he seems to be totally free from that anti-Catholic prejudice which has died so hard among the Oxford historians, and remains to this day as the great and ever present flaw in all the brilliant pages of Trevelyan. He gives, clearly and fully an account of the atrocious penal laws against the Catholics, and then examines how far this code was a dead letter, and how far from the practice of everyday life, and explains its retention in the mentality of the average man, and even the man as far from average as was Pitt, who looked upon Catholics as an ever present danger to the stability of the government.

Mr. Williams' volume is a work of the first rank in historical scholarship and will long remain as the final authority on this period of Whig supremacy.

MOTHER MARY LAWRENCE

Rosemont College
Rosemount, Pennsylvania

Anglo-French Relations, 1763–1770. A Study of Choiseul's Foreign Policy. By JOHN FRASER RAMSEY. [University of California Publications in History. Volume XVII. No. 3]. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. x, 121. $1.25.)

Etienne François, Duce de Choiseul, served Louis XV in many capacities and with great ability. Like an Italian statesman of a later date, he filled numerous ministerial posts simultaneously. "During the twelve years between 1758 and 1770 . . . he virtually ruled France as Minister of War, Marine, Foreign Affairs, Posts and Roads, and General of the Army and Navy of the King" (p. v). Choiseul's policies during the 18th century exerted great influence upon the course of European history, yet like those of Vergennes, their importance has been overshadowed by the tremendous events of the revolutionary period that began at the end of the century.

Mr. Ramsey's concise monograph, obviously the result of careful and varied research in European archives, does much to rescue one phase of Choiseul's policy from oblivion. The French foreign minister, after the disastrous peace of 1763, revivified French internal policy, and by a masterly handling of relations with Spain under the terms of the *Pacte de Famille*, initiated a system that was destined, under Vergennes, to place France once more in a dominant political role on the Continent. His policy towards Britain, it has been asserted, was the cause of his downfall and disgrace in 1770. Mr. Ramsey demonstrates conclusively that Choiseul was the victim of a palace cabal under the aegis of Du Barry. He was in perfect harmony with Louis XV on English policy; both the monarch and the minister wished above all to avoid war with England until such time as France might be thoroughly prepared for hostilities.

To this end were directed all of Choiseul's dealings with Britain during the years of his power. Spain and Britain clashed, and seemed near to war over the questions of the Manila ransom and control of the Malouine Islands (now known as the Falkland Islands). In Sweden and in Corsica French and English spheres of influence conflicted. In each case the seeds of war between France and England threatened to develop into open hostilities. Choiseul alone prevented such an outcome. He brought pressure upon Spain where it seemed requisite, he moderated French policy and initiated delicate negotiations with Sweden and Corsica in the interests of peace. So effective was his influence over Charles III of Spain that that monarch "often paid more attention to his [Choiseul's] advice than to that of his own ministers" (p. 159).

This monograph is the clearly-told story of the complicated negotiations of Choiseul with and concerning England during these years of precarious peace after the Seven Years' War. Choiseul clearly did not believe that peace could last forever. Indeed, he supervised the preparation of plans for military operations against Britain, and even went to the extent of sending observers to North America to determine the extent of colonial disaffection. The result of his investigations was the conviction that France could not fight Britain for some time with any hope of success, and herein lies the explanation of his remarkably successful efforts to preserve the peace of Europe. His policies were brought to an abrupt end with his dismissal in 1770, but they had their desired effect nevertheless. France had obtained the breathing spell necessary for her rehabilitation. When war did come, in 1778, it found a France prepared, a France with friends on the continent, and a France that was able once more to place herself among the first-rank powers of the world. For all of this, Choiseul's far-sighted policies were largely responsible.

JOHN J. MENG

Queens College

George III and William Pitt, 1783–1806. By DONALD GROVE BARNES, Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History in Western Reserve University. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 512. $5.00.)

This volume is another example of the fact that history is constantly rewritten. Relying chiefly on researches in the Pitt manuscripts of the Chatham Papers and in the unpublished correspondence of George III for the years following 1783, Professor Barnes produces a new interpretation of the effect of the association of George III and William Pitt on the development of cabinet government in England.

The viewpoint of most historians has been that in 1783, when Pitt took office as Prime Minister, George III still exercised great influence in the conduct of government business and was "senior partner in the firm", but that by 1806, when Pitt died, the King had been reduced to the level of a modern constitutional ruler, while Pitt had established the principles of modern cabinet government. This viewpoint Professor Barnes holds to be invalid. His thesis follows.

The constitutional principles of both the King and Pitt remained unchanged from 1783 to 1806. George III, by tactful treatment of Pitt, was able to put into practice his own constitutional theories—viz., that the King had a right to choose his own ministers and that no group chancing to control a majority in parliament might force their way into the ministry; that he had a right not only to veto laws but also by personal intervention with individual ministers to prevent the introduction or passage of bills of which he disapproved; that if the King and the Prime Minister disagreed over a policy of importance, the King might supplant the Minister with another more personally acceptable to himself. Pitt, no believer in modern cabinet solidarity, advocated government based on "men, not measures," and made no effort to build up a party majority in parliament. He agreed that the King should chose his own ministers. But, although admitting the King's right to influence other ministers, Pitt insisted on the predominant position of the Prime Minister, and demanded that the King consider any proposal sanctioned by the cabinet. He conceded, however, that if the King disapproved the proposal, the latter might dismiss the Prime Minister.

One might choose merely one of many incidents used in the book—that of the Catholic Emancipation crisis in 1801 — to illustrate the point. Professor Barnes follows the accepted view that the Act of Union of 1801 was jockeyed through the Irish parliament partly by bribery of members and partly by gaining the support of the Catholics through a promise of Catholic Emancipation to be passed by the imperial parliament. This, although Pitt knew that the King would oppose any such scheme and "must have realized that he was dangling the prospect of a reward before

the eyes of Catholics which he was in no position to honor." After the Act of Union, Pitt insisted that the King consider a Catholic Emancipation bill, since it was sanctioned by the cabinet; but, when the King disapproved and refused even to forego using his influence against Emancipation, Pitt resigned. The Minister, not the King, gave way.

Thus Professor Barnes holds that from 1783 to 1806, Pitt had not established himself as a modern Prime Minister, nor had the King been reduced to the position of a modern constitutional ruler. Although a bit lengthy, the narrative flows smoothly, aided by frequent helpful summaries. In fine, Professor Barnes has produced a book of interest to all students of English constitutional developments.

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The Lady of the Holy Alliance: The Life of Julie de Krüdener. By ERNEST JOHN KNAPTON. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 262. $3.00.)

In the light of his own conclusions, Mr. Knapton, in using the title *Lady of the Holy Alliance*, is merely paying deference to a misconception of long standing. For Mr. Knapton proves, quite satisfactorily, that Madame de Krüdener, far from being the motive force behind the Holy Alliance, was but an incidental influence in its proclamation. A careful examination of Alexander's background, his character, his mysticism, all point to the conclusion that the Holy Alliance would have been presented to the world even without the dramatic meeting between the Tsar and the Livonian baroness at Heilbronn and the visits and consultations that followed in the summer of 1815 in Paris. In fact Alexander seems to have grown somewhat cool in his interest in the baroness even before that historic day in September, 1815, when he presented to his colleagues the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, pledging its signers to observe the precepts of Christian charity and brotherhood in dealing with each other and with their peoples. Far more influential than Madame de Krüdener seems to have been a German Catholic theologian, Franz von Baader, who, in 1814, sent to the monarchs of Russia, Prussia and Austria the summary of a pamphlet (published during the following year) which contained many similarities to the principles of the Holy Alliance, and may, says Mr. Knapton, have given to Alexander "that little spurt necessary to transform his inchoate yearnings into something that could be put down in black and white." In this connection one wonders at the omission of the name of Hugo de Groot (Grotius), the "father of international law," from the list of those who for several centuries "had sought to establish a system of public law for Europe."

The denial to Madame de Krüdener of credit for the Holy Alliance must not be allowed to create the impression that this work partakes of the

nature of the recently popular "de-bunking" literature. For it has a real and positive value in giving a vivid picture of the chaotic condition of Europe in one of the most critical periods of its far from tranquil history, that of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Era and the Restoration. Across this background of deep political and social unrest, of grave economic disorder and of a significant intellectual change in the rise of Romanticism, flits Madame de Krüdener; with a following whose numbers vary with her changing fortunes, she moves from Riga to Paris, from Berlin to Switzerland, from Venice to Copenhagen, from St. Petersburg to the Crimea. The whole world of Europe, in fact, is her stage, and she, the heroine, is important chiefly because, looking beyond her, we can see the stage-setting before which she plays out her role of *littérateur*, mystic and evangelist.

The book contains a number of attractive illustrations, is thoroughly documented and offers a bibliography that testifies to the solid scholarship of the author.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the American hierarchy was formally commemorated by a Solemn Pontifical Mass in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception on the campus of the Catholic University of America, at which His Excellency, the Most Reverend Michael Joseph Curley, D.D., archbishop of Baltimore and Washington and successor to Archbishop John Carroll, D.D., the first member of the American hierarchy, was celebrant. His Excellency, the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, D.D., titular archbishop of Laodicea and apostolic delegate to the United States, presided. The sermon was preached by the Right Reverend Monsignor Edward P. McAdams, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Washington, D. C.

Commemorative of the same event was the series of special articles prepared by the Reverend Dr. Joseph B. Code, of the Catholic University of America, author of the *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, and distributed by the regular news service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference to Catholic newspapers in America and throughout the English-speaking world. The subject was treated under four heads: "The Several Lineages of the American Hierarchy"; "The American Hierarchy and the Frontier"; "The American Hierarchy and Higher Education"; and "The Spanish Ancestry of the American Hierarchy".

On November 11, 12 and 13, The Catholic University of America observed the commemoration days of its semicentennial. Numerous members of the American hierarchy, 300 delegates of American and European colleges, universities and learned societies attended the celebration. Pontifical Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Michael Joseph Curley, D.D., Chancellor of the University, in the presence of Cardinals Dougherty of Philadelphia and Villeneuve of Quebec. An eloquent sermon, full of reminiscences, was preached by the senior archbishop of the United States, the Most Reverend John Joseph Glennon, of St. Louis, who was already a priest on the missions when the University was founded. The high point of the semicentennial convocation, held in the university gymnasium, was a broadcast from His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, to the University. The Right Reverend Joseph Moran Corrigan, Rector of the University, delivered an oration on "University and Universality." The Right Reverend John M. Cooper gave an "Address to the Hierachy, Our Founders," and the Right Reverend Peter Guilday spoke on "Our Fifty Years."

Speakers at the banquet, held on the evening of November 12, were the Most Reverend John T. McNicholas, archbishop of Cincinnati, Dr. George F. Zook, of the American Council on Education, and Mr. Thomas F. Woodlock.

In a discourse to the seminarians of Rome on June 24th (AAS, XXXI, 8, July 15, 1939, 245 ff.) the Holy Father had this to say of the study of Church History: "Historical science, as treated in your scholastic curriculum, should not be confined to critical and merely apologetic questions, important as these are, but should rather always show forth the achievements and activity of the Church. It should portray the life of the Church, and tell how much she has labored; how much she has suffered; by what ways and with what success she has carried out her mission; how she has exercised charity; where dangers lurk and impede her good state; under what conditions public relations between Church and States went well, and under what conditions they flourished less; how far the Church may make concessions to political power, and in what circumstances she must remain adamant: in a word, what the courses in ecclesiastical history ought to produce and foster in you is mature judgment regarding the condition of the Church and sincere love of the Church. It is upon you especially, beloved sons, that history can best enforce its lessons, for you are living in this City whose ancient monuments, libraries, and archives, ever standing open to students and research workers, place, as it were, before your eyes the life of the Catholic Church in the course of the centuries."

After warmly commending a love of St. Thomas' teaching and method Pope Pius in another part of his discourse had this to say of research: "At the same time we make Our own the desires of our Predecessors to protect the progress of true science, and to allow every lawful liberty in the field of research. We altogether approve and commend the spirit of progress which brings the old wisdom, where necessary, into line with the knowledge acquired by modern discovery; We likewise approve and commend the free discussion of points in which recognized commentators of the Angelic Doctor have differed; and We also approve and commend the use of new historical data in order to attain a fuller understanding of certain texts of Aquinas. But 'let no private person pose as a Master in the Church' (Benedict XV, AAS, VI, 1914, p. 576), and let no one demand more from his neighbor than our common Mistress and Mother, the Church, requires from all (Pius XI, AAS, XV, 1923, p. 324). Let there be full liberty of discussion, but futile wrangling is to be avoided.

"If all these points are attended to, as We trust they will be, the various branches of learning are sure to benefit abundantly. Really, the Church's recommendation of the doctrine of St. Thomas is not calculated to suppress healthy emulation in the pursuit and propagation of truth, but rather to stimulate such emulation and direct it aright."

The REVIEW is happy to announce that Mr. Martin R. P. McGuire, Ph.D., associate professor of Greek and Latin and dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at The Catholic University of America, has been elected to its editorial board. Dr. McGuire's special fields of interest are ancient and early mediaeval history.

The war is seriously interfering with the work of the learned journals in the belligerent countries. In the October issue of the *English Historical Review* the editors announce that they "desire to inform our readers that present circumstances may make it necessary to suspend publication". The editors of *History*, speaking in the September issue of the circumstances under which that journal was born in 1916, quote the original editors' definition of purpose to be that of giving expression to the thoughts of "those men and women who have to save historical truth from sterility by propaganda." The present editors maintain that such is still their watchword and "we shall not lightly relinquish a task that successive editors established into a proud tradition. The struggle to keep alive the treasures of our common heritage may become increasingly difficult, but the Association and its Journal must continue to play their part in work that is of more than national importance." The editors of the new *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* announce that there will be some delay in issuing the first number owing to the outbreak of the war. It was to have appeared in October. *Byzantion* has suspended publication because of mobilization in Belgium. The bimonthly *Benediktinische Monatschrift* has been forced to cease publication on orders of the German government. It was published by the Archabbey of Beuron since its inception in 1921 and devoted its pages to articles and reviews on Christian art, liturgy, asceticism, and monastic history.

The December number of *Thought* announces its transfer from the America Press to Fordham University. The Reverend Dr. Gerald G. Walsh, S.J. will be the editor-in-chief. Father Walsh has been acting as managing editor as well as history editor of the same periodical. The REVIEW wishes *Thought* continued success under its new management.

The Institute of Mediaeval Studies at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, has been made a Pontifical Institute by Pope Pius XII with the right to confer the licentiate and doctorate of mediaeval studies. Professor Etienne Gilson planned the Institute and has been its guiding spirit. The Reverend Dr. Gerald B. Phelan is the president, and the faculty is made up of a number of Basilian Fathers specially trained in various fields of mediaeval studies.

The complete file of the Boston *Pilot*, the oldest current Catholic American paper, is now available in microfilm. The *Pilot* was founded

in 1828 under the title of *The Jesuit;* the name has been changed on several occasions, the present name of the *Pilot* having been adopted in 1858.

This present edition on film was made possible by a generous grant from Cardinal O'Connell and was prepared by the Reverend Dr. Arthur Riley, of St. John's Seminary of Brighton, Mass. Dr. Riley succeeded in adding to the files of the Boston Archdiocesan Archives, which hold ninety-seven per cent of the issues, numbers, and parts of numbers until he had assembled all but a few of the original 60,000 pages. Hence, the microfilm copy represents a much longer run than any other to be found. It also has the advantage of keeping in permanent form what was in danger of destruction through the deterioration of those parts which had been printed on wood-pulp paper.

The microfilm is available in whole or in parts, the division being in twenty-year periods. Convenient forms of payment have also been arranged by the publishers.

Dr. Riley has prepared an introduction to the whole set of films, together with an index and additional bibliographic data.

Father Herbert Thurston, S.J., died on November 3rd at the age of 83. His death marks the passing of one of the greatest Catholic scholars in the English-speaking world. His contributions to history and on the subject of psychic research are too well known to require comment. Readers will miss his articles in *The Month* which have been appearing over a period of fifty years. His sterling contributions to *The Catholic Encyclopedia* will long continue to be useful. The new edition of *Butler's Lives* is a precious legacy from one who devoted so much of his life to hagiography.

The same week marked the passing, in his 83rd year, of another truly great English scholar, Dr. Reginald Lane Poole. Students of mediaeval history and those devoted to academic research generally are heavily indebted to his prolific pen.

Georges Goyau, member of the French Academy since 1922 and permanent secretary of the Academy since last year, Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, died on October 25th at the age of seventy. Among the more important works of this distinguished Catholic historian were nine volumes on *L'Allemagne religieuse,* and *Histoire religieuse* (Vol. VI of the *Histoire de la nation française,* edited by Gabriel Hanotaux).

Father Bertrand Kurtscheid writes an appreciation of the great historian of canon law, Paul Fournier, who died in May 1935, in Vol. XII (1939), num. 1, of *Apollinaris.*

Herman Heimpel in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Bd. 160, 1939, Heft 3) pays a lengthy tribute to Heinrich Finke, great Catholic historian, who died a year ago.

Catholic historical scholarship has lost one of its most generous supporters in the death of Sir Joseph T. Lilly, of Brooklyn, N. Y., on November 8th.

The Oriental Institute in Rome continues to shed light on many a dark place in the history of Christianity in the East. A first number of the *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (published semi-annually) for 1939 contains studies spread over the whole period from the fourth century to the twentieth, and reflects the life of various Eastern Churches in their early vigor, while submerged under the wave of Islam, in return to unity with the See of Rome, or in the contemporary development of their theological doctrine in the unhappy state of schism. Thus Fr. I. Hausherr contributes two studies tracing back portions of the writings of Evagrius of Pontus (d. 399) toward the form in which they left that ascetic's refuge in the Nitrian desert of Egypt; besides some recovered fragments of the original Greek, he utilizes a Syriac and an Arabic version. The polyglot and international aspect of Christian life in the East till some time after the coming of Islam can hardly be better emphasized than from the facts that these writings of a monk from the Black Sea coast, produced in the north of Africa, are now being slowly restored with the aid not only of the material mentioned and of other Greek texts, but also of an Armenian version being worked over by J. Muyldermans; and that Fr. Hausherr thinks it not at all improbable that a Coptic rendering may underlie the Arabic text he brings to light. Fr. A. M. Ammann looks back a thousand years to the baptism (988 A. D.) of St. Vladimir, first Christian ruler of Russia, and studies its circumstances and its ample harvest of Christian converts. Another centenary is marked by Fr. G. Hofmann with a discussion of the union of the Armenian Church with the Catholic Church at the Council of Florence, Nov. 22, 1439. An illustrated thirteenth century Syriac gospel lectionary discloses, under the scrutiny of Fr. G. de Jerphanion, the tutelage in which its Christian artist stood toward the prevailing Mohammedan culture; and reveals Constantine the Great and St. Helen his mother in the guise of Mongol rulers. A shorter note by Fr. B. Schulze takes cognizance of trends in Russian orthodox circles toward a teaching condemned as late as 1935 by their own bishops as heretical; the error goes to the very roots of the Byzantine tradition, as it centers in fantastic misinterpretations of the nature of the Wisdom of God.

A new estimate of the intellectual alertness of the French Jesuits during the period of the Enlightenment, is given in an article by Robert R. Palmer in the *American Historical Review* for October, entitled, "The French Jesuits in the Age of Enlightenment." Dr. Palmer, author of a monograph published in the summer of 1939, *Catholics and Unbelievers in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton University Press), bases his study

on a statistical analysis of the *Journal de Trévoux*, a Jesuit periodical published between January, 1701 and April, 1762, i.e. to within a few months of the suppression of the Society in France.

The author vindicates the Jesuits of the charge of intellectual obscurantism, and cites evidence from their widely read journal to show that they were by no means as reactionary towards the new ideas of the enlightenment as has commonly been held. His examination comprises the subjects treated in the *Journal's* articles, the books reviewed by the Jesuit editors, the critical estimate given of the *Encyclopédie* as it appeared, etc.

The recently published *Mélanges offerts à M. Ernest Martinenche*, (Editions d'Artrey, Paris) contains for the most part articles on Spanish literature. Among the titles of special interest to historians are: Rafael Altamira, "Felipe II y el tribunal de Justicia internacional;" Aurelió Vinas, "Felipe II y la jornada de las Barricadas;" Paul Guinard, "Reflections sur le baroque español;" Elie Lambert, L'art mozarabe;" Raymon Ronze "La prise de Martin Garcia en 1838."

Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University examines the works of a number of humanist historians such as Giovanni Villani, Petrarch, Leonardo Bruni (Aretino), Flavio Biondo, and Sabellicus in the October issue of the *American Historical Review*, in an article entitled "Humanist Views of the Renaissance." Professor Ferguson concludes that there is fairly general agreement among these 14th and 15th century writers in believing that the decline of the Roman Empire was followed by a long night of darkness which only gave way with the rise of the Italian cities. He likewise concludes that these humanist historians, quite narrowly political in their outlook, were likewise indifferent to happenings outside Italy and in general to the cultural contributions of the Middle Ages.

Librairie Plon (Paris) announces the last work of Georges Goyau, *La Normandie bénédictine, pirates vikings et moines normands.*

The third volume of the *Dictionnaire national des contemporains* edited by Nath. Embert has recently been published.

The *Revue Bénédictine* continues to devote most of its space to critical editions of patristic and mediaeval documents. The April-September number includes the following: C. Lambot, "Lettre inédite de S. Augustin relative au 'De civitate Dei'"; A. Dold, "Ein aszetischer Brief aus dem 5. Jahrhundert"; A. Wilmart, "Un nouveau poème de Marbode, Hildebert et Rivallon", and "Les 'loisirs' ou sentiments intimes d'un Chancelier de France" [Hugue de Soissons, Chancellor of Louis VII]; and P. Volk "Die Professformel von Meerssen". C. Lambot in "Passage de la 'Regula Magistri' dépendant d'un manuscrit interpolé de la règle bénédictine" contributes more fuel to the current controversy in Bene-

dictine circles relative to the connection between the rule of St. Benedict and the anonymous "Regula Magistri".

The same number of the above-mentioned *Revue* contains the first 32 pages of the third volume of the *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne latine*. This supplement appears semi-annually. The *Bulletin* is divided into two parts: part I, "Littérature biblique" and part II, "Littérature non-biblique." The present editors are C. Charlier and C. Lambot. The first volume covered the years 1921 to 1928 and the second the years 1929 to 1938. In the section devoted to non-biblical literature in the current volume Dom Lambot evaluates fifty-four monographs on Christian literature to the eighth century.

Karl Jordan in *Die Bistumgründungen Heinrichs des Löwen* (Leipsig, 1939) gives a thorough analysis of documents concerning the three bishoprics of Oldenburg-Lübeck, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin. They are of great importance for East German colonization.

Friedrich Zoepfl writes in the *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Band 59, 1939, Heft 1-2) on "Heinrich Lur," stern but orthodox critic of the clergy in the second half of the fifteenth century. The works of this South-German champion of reform are still largely in manuscript.

Konrad Algermissen's *Konfessionskunde* (Hannover, 1939, Verlag Joseph Giesel, quarto, pp. xvi, 890) summarizes the doctrines, liturgy, and constitution of the leading Christian denominations and discusses the story of their origin and development. About 400 pages are devoted to the Catholic Church; large sections are given over to the Greek Churches and the leading Protestant denominations.

The *Festbuch* issued by the "Reichsverband für das katholische Deutschtum in Ausland" (Berlin, 1939, Salvator Verlag, pp. v, 323) is in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the society. It includes the following papers, which deal either in whole or in part with American Catholic history: Theodor Cleve, "Das Collegium Americanum in Münster i.W."; Alfons Vaeth, S.J., "Die auslandsdeutsche Mission der Gesellschaft Jesu"; Josef Jung-Diefenbach, S.V.D. "Steyler Missionäre im Dienste katholischer Auslandsdeutscher in Übersee"; and Theodor Roemer, O.M.Cap., "Das seelsorgliche Wirken der Kapuziner unter den Deutschen der Vereinigten Staaten".

In the September number of *History* Professor R. R. Betts publishes an article entitled "Jan Hus," in which he evaluates Hus's contribution to the rise of Czech nationalism and religious change. Professor Betts devotes considerable time to the influence of Wyclif on Hus. He acknowledges that influence but believes it to have been exaggerated in the works of a number of German scholars such as Loserth. Examples given of Hus's disagreement with Wyclif's teaching are his refusal to accept the State as a remedy of salvation from the worldly Church, Wyclif's strict

predestinarianism, and his belief that sacraments administered by a priest in the state of mortal sin were without efficacy. The article concludes with a very useful bibliographical note.

La Serbie et son église: 1830-1904 by Jean Mousset is Vol. VIII in the Collection historique of the Institut d'études slaves de l'Université de Paris.

A mass of manuscript material dealing with the relations between England and Savoy from the 13th to the 19th centuries, has recently been discovered at the Archivio di Stato in Turin. The material contains a great number of documents on diplomatic and personal matters between the Dukes of Savoy and the Kings of England from Edward I to George III. Another valuable collection is the important correspondence between Cardinal de Granville and Duke Emmanuel Philibert, comprising 188 documents running from 1553 to 1584. The Turin Archivio is especially rich in materials for the Stuart period, there being a total of 398 Stuart documents, mostly written in French and well preserved. For students of the Stuart period the Turin archives will yield a harvest of primary materials not yet known to scholars.

Irish Historical Studies for September (Vol. I, No. 4), contains A. O'Brien's "Introduction and Notes to the Edition of The Old Irish Life of St. Brigit;" an article, "Anglo-Irish Local Government, 1485-1534", by David B. Quinn; a lengthy appreciation of the second edition of Edmund Curtis', *A History of Mediaeval Ireland from 1086-1513*, by H. G. Richardson; a brief article by K. Povey on "The Sources for a Bibliography of Irish History, 1500-1700;" and a list of theses (1938-1939) on Irish History in progress at Irish, British, and American universities. The new periodical shows fine promise.

Among records of the Veterans' Administration in The National Archives are two pension-case files containing Lincolniana. The first relates to the martyred President's wife and includes her own declaration for a widow's pension and several letters written by her son, Robert Todd Lincoln. The second contains documents concerning John S. Staples, who served as a representative recruit for Abraham Lincoln in the Union Army and has often been erroneously referred to as Lincoln's substitute.

Materials relating to the history of the Army and Navy of the United States recently received by The National Archives include most of the records of the Office of the Surgeon General of the Army to July 1, 1894, and some groups to later dates; records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy pertaining to the proceedings of examining and retiring boards, 1860-1939, of general courts martial, 1866-1916, and of courts of inquiry and boards of investigation, 1866-1916; and numerous journals of Lt. Charles Wilkes and other members of the United States

Exploring Expedition of 1838-42. The Wilkes journals cover the entire period of the expedition; the others cover different portions thereof.

Other recent accessions of The National Archives include correspondence and accounting records of the National Bank Redemption Agency, 1875-1918; records of the former War Department Bureau of Insular Affairs relative to Puerto Rico, 1899-1914, and of the Secretary of the Interior relative to various Territories and insular possessions of the United States, 1907-30; manuscript reports on cost and price studies conducted by the Office of Farm Management, 1910-24; records of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation concerning the emergency cattle-buying program of 1934-35; records from the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, including applications of owners for official numbers for their vessels, 1867-1917, correspondence of the Office of the Supervising Inspector General of the Steamboat Inspection Service, 1905-23, and files concerning the international conferences on safety of life at sea held in 1913-14 and 1929 and the United States Load Line Committee and the International Load Line Convention of 1930, 1913-33; minutes and other records of the Food Purchase Board, 1917-19; and the files of the joint committee that investigated the Tennessee Valley Authority during the Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Congresses.

Douglas C. McMurtie, national editor, American Imprints Inventory, W.P.A. Historical Records Survey Program, edits: *A Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets and Broadsides Printed at Canandaigua, New York, 1799-1850.* It appears as Vol. 21 (1939), No. 4 of the *Grosvenor Library Bulletin.* Fifty-three titles are principally concerned with the religious life of the Community. No Catholic title appears among them.

The December number of *Catholic Action* contains an account of the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the American Hierarchy held at the Catholic University of America, November 14-16, and brief digests of the reports of the Administrative Board of Bishops of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

Mr. Richard Reid, executive secretary of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia and editor of *The Catholic Bulletin* since 1920, has accepted the position of editor of *The Catholic News* of New York. John Gilmary Shea was the first editor of *The News* (1888-1892).

The Mississippi Valley Press recently established at Oxford, Ohio, will specialize in *Americana.* Its first volumes deal with figures in our western history.

Among the Historical Papers contained in the *Report of the Annual Meeting* of the Canadian Historical Association (University of Toronto Press, 1939) the article by J. M. Carrière on "Life and Customs in the

French Villages of the Old Illinois Country: 1763-1939" will be of special interest to readers of the REVIEW.

Catalogue No. 678 of Maggs Bros. Ltd., is devoted to Canada and Newfoundland.

An Instituto Internacional de Estudios Ibero-Americanos has recently been organized. Its purpose is explained in the *Plan y programa del funcionamiento científico del instituto*. Señor J. Cremades, 93 rue Réamur, Paris II, acts as general secretary of the new institute.

Enrico Lucatello writes the life of Blessed Giustino De Jacobis (1800-1860), missionary to Ethiopia, in *Il Padre dell'Etiopia* (Rome, Propaganda liturgica e missonaria, 1939).

September 21st marked the centenary of the martyrdom of Bishop Imbert and Fathers Maubant and Chastan, missionaries in Korea. The *Annales de la Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris* (July-Aug.) gives an account of their labors and death. These three members of the Société des Missions Etrangères were beatified in 1925.

Documents. Decretales selectae ex antiquissimis Romanorum Pontificum [sc. Innocentii I et Leonis I] epistulis decretalibus, praemissa introductione et disquisitione critice editae. Hubertus Wurm (*Apollinaris,* XII, 1939, num. 1).—*Summi Pontificatus.* First Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII [English translation]; *Sertus Laetitiae Sacrae,* Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, on the Occasion of the Sesqui-Centennial of the American Hierarchy [English translation] (*Ecclesiastical Review,* Dec.).—Legenda S. Francisci Assisiensis tribus ipsius sociis hucusque adscripta. Giuseppi Abate, O.F.M. Conv. (*Miscellanea Francescana,* July-Sept.).—Per l'epistolario di Paolo Sarpi, V: Lettere di Paolo Sarpi a Francesco Castrino. Pietro Savio (*Aevum,* Oct.).—Una dedica inedita di Ambrogio Traversari all'Infante Don Pedro di Portogallo duca di Coimbra. Guido Battelli (*Rinascita,* Aug.-Oct.).—Tonti Letters. J. De Langlez (*Mid-America,* July).—Lettres du chanoine Allenou de la Ville-Angevin, second fondateur des filles du Saint-Esprit, aux religieuses de cette congrégation (*Bulletin des recherches historiques,* Sept.).—Documentos existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris, relativos a Chihuahua y Durango. José de Jesús Núnez y Dominguez (*Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios historicos,* Sept.).—Coronado's First Report on the Government of New Galicia. Arthur S. Aiton (*Hispanic American Historical Review,* Aug.).—The Report of the Bishop of Durango on Conditions in Northwestern Mexico in 1745. Translated and edited by Ronald L. Ives. (*Ibid.*).—Nouvelles de la mission d'Abyssinie, Septembre 1841—Juillet 1860 [letters]. (*Revue d'histoire des missions,* Sept.).

The Xaverian Brothers commemorated their centenary with a Solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by His Excellency Archbishop Michael J. Curley at the Cathedral in Baltimore on December 10th.

On September 30th, 1939, the Diocese of Winona attained its fiftieth anniversary. The celebration extended throughout the month of October. The first Mass read within the present boundaries of the diocese was at Wabasha in 1840; this settlement also saw the first church built in the diocese by Father Ravoux in 1851 or early 1852. The first resident pastor in the diocese was the Reverend Valentine Sommereisen, appointed pastor at Mankato on March 8th, 1856. The first Mass was read in Winona in the summer of 1856 in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Urell; it was offered by Bishop Cretin of St. Paul. The first parochial school in the diocese was opened by the School Sisters of Notre Dame from Milwaukee in 1865. The Jesuit Fathers arrived to work in the diocese at Mankato in 1874.

On November 19-23 the Leo House in New York City observed the golden jubilee of its establishment. A booklet has been issued recounting its early history.

The year 1940 will recall some striking landmarks in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. First, it coincides with the quadricentennial of the arrival with De Soto in 1540 of the first priests in Georgia, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. A government commission appointed by President Roosevelt and headed by Dr. John B. Swanton as chairman, has just issued a 400-page report embodying its researches on the route followed by De Soto. The Coronado Expedition with its Franciscan friars traversed Arizona and New Mexico in 1540. These friars were the first priests known of a certainty to have entered the states named. The Coronado Quarto Centennial of 1940, sponsored by the state of New Mexico, will celebrate the latter's emergence into history on the occasion of the famous expedition. Western history of the American period will also have an interesting commemoration in 1940 in the centennial of the arrival in the person of Father Peter De Smet, S.J. of the first priest in Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana. As far as can be ascertained, the same well-known Indian missionary said the first Masses in the three states named. He entered Wyoming in June, Idaho, on a day during the period, July 8-10, and Montana, July 24, all these dates being in 1840.

BRIEF NOTICES

BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER. *A Short History of the United States, 1492-1938.* 3rd Ed., Revised and Enlarged by RICHARD H. BASSETT. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xvii, 1039. $4.00.) Bassett's *History* was at one time the most popular of all college texts, and deservedly so. After the tragic death of the author a second edition was issued. In the work of this revision the reviewer was asked to check all statements in which reference was made to the Church. The statement of this fact in the preface and by the publisher caused one reviewer to ask whether Catholics had to have a different history from that furnished any other group. This third edition is the work of Professor Bassett's son aided and encouraged by Professors Beard, Faulkner, and Curti. There has been added a chapter on the social history of the United States from 1865 to 1914, and a portion of a chapter on the same topic since the World War. The account of recent American history has, of course, been brought down to the present, and minor changes have been made in the original narrative; but the main character of the book has not been altered. The *Short History* is still one of the best available for solid, factual presentation. (LEO F. STOCK)

BINING, ARTHUR CECIL, PH. D. *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century.* [Publications of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, IV.] (Harrisburg: 1938. Pp. 227.) Professor Bining who, in 1933, published a scholarly study of *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry,* now offers this monograph on one unit of his larger work. After an introductory survey of the first attempts at ironmaking in America, his succeeding chapters concern a description of the iron "plantations", the sites of the furnaces, the early technique of the manufacture, improvement and inventions, the labor supply, biographical information of the ironmasters, relations of the trade with England, and the progress of the industry. There are 42 interesting illustrations of mansions, furnaces, and products; and appendices which list the ironworks of the period, give height and size of the furnaces, state the amount of iron made for respective years at the Cornwall, Elizabeth, and Colebrook furnaces, and show a copy of articles of partnership between the operators of the Glasgow forge. The study is more than a chapter of the economic history of the colony; it is social history as well. But it deserved a better format. (LEO F. STOCK)

BIONDI, BIONDO. *La Categoria Romano delle "Servitutes".* (Milano: Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. 1938. Pp. xv, 706. L, 50.)

MASCHI, CARLO ALBERTO. *La Concezione naturalistica del Diritto e degli Istituti giuridici Romani.* (Milano: Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. 1937. Pp. xix, 395. L.. 30.)

These two important contributions to the science, philosophy and history of Roman law should prove useful to Anglo-American legal scholars who are hereby afforded an opportunity of studying an ingenious ethical and metaphysical *modus operandi* in tracing the origin and development of juridical institutions, almost completely lacking in the Common law tradition. For the rank and file of the American bar, however, these books will be of little interest, as the Common lawyer is still skeptical of the value of legal philosophy. While Professor Biondi's work exemplifies the logical and metaphysical method applied to the historical evolution of one juridical category in a mature system of law, Dr. Maschi's book is concerned with demonstrating how in specific concrete legal situations the *jus naturale* has been operative throughout the long unfolding of the Roman law as a vital principle of growth rather than as a mere philosophical abstraction. Both authors, emphasizing "reality", i.e. *jus naturale* as the measure of values of juridical institutions, apparently adhere to the same general cult of jurisprudence, namely the scholastic, so that the two volumes should be particularly inspiring to that small but enthusiastic group of American jurists who are endeavoring to create an articulate school of scholastic legal philosophy in this country.

Professor Biondi has placed the term *servitutes* in quotation marks because he does not believe that the so-called Roman category of servitude, as it was expanded in the post-Justinian period, conformed to the real order. The fundamental structure of the *servitude*, conceived as a permanent subjection of one *res* for the benefit of another *res* (praedial servitude), such as a right of way over land B allowed to whosoever owned land A, or a right of conducting water from a lake to adjacent land, was maintained during the entire evolution of the Roman law up to the time of Justinian. But in the imperial legislation of Justinian, there is a new concept that a servitude might be imposed by law, although hitherto the traditional doctrine had limited the category to voluntary servitudes. Nevertheless the category remained homogeneous.

Eventually, however, personal rights (personal servitudes) of residing in a house (*habitatio*), and of taking the natural increase of living things (*usu fructus*), and of using the property of another (*usus*) were included within the framework of the category of servitude. When this happened, partly under the pressure of necessity and partly as a result of the desire of the post-classical, Byzantine, medieval, and modern jurists to reduce all reality to logical schemes, the homogeneity of the category vanished. Although "servitude" came to have two meanings in the sources of Roman law, this did not interfere with the precision of the term in that legal system.

In tracing the history of the logical process of the categorization of "servitude", Professor Biondi has shown an appreciation of the sociological implications of the problem. These are subordinate, however, to the work of analysis. He has elaborately reconstructed the positive law on the subject of servitude in the various historical epochs.

Dr. Maschi has placed his emphasis upon the legal philosophy of the *jus naturale* by showing how numerous important legal institutions derived their universal appeal by virtue of their relation to the *ratio naturalis*, an eternal verity which governs the whole world. Indeed, "nature", an objective ele-

ment preceding human activity, prescribed the positive juridical structure of Roman legal institutions. The term nature is used in the sources to designate the reality or the essence of things (moral order). The nature of man was distinguished from that of animals and things.

While "nature" is itself not a juridical concept, still its normative value in Roman law has been considerable. Its utility has been manifest both in the ethical and sociological domains in reference to Roman law. The author reduces these generalizations to the concrete by detailed consideration of their relationship to such juristic figures as contract, obligation, sale, servitude and the like.

Various general conceptions of law, found in the Roman law sources, referable to "nature", such as those of Ulpian, Justinian, and the like are contrasted. The influence of Christian thinking in this connection is suggested. The manner in which the socio-human theory of law is placed in juxtaposition with the divine will concept in the sources is explained.

It is gratifying to note that in both works reference is often made to the researches of Dr. Salvatore Riccobono, that Professor Biondi is a member of the Riccobono Seminar of Roman Law in America, and that Dr. Maschi soon will be. This Seminar, formed to commemorate the delivery of a series of lectures on Roman law in Washington, D. C. by Professor Riccobono, has striven for the past decade at the Catholic University of America to advance the study of Roman law in the United States. Its members will eagerly await future works from the pens of these two brilliant Romanists. (BRENDAN F. BROWN)

BOHATTA, HANNS. *Bibliographie der Breviere: 1501-1850.* (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann. 1937. Pp. vii, 349.) Hiersemann's publications are a great help to research. The present volume lists and locates 2891 breviaries published between 1501 and 1850. Dr. Bohatta based his research mainly on the splendid collection of breviaries in the library of the Duke of Parma in Schwarzan (Lower Austria), a library that has since been sold. He added much information from the libraries of the world. As he is aware, his bibliography is not complete, but it will remain the basic list around which additional information can be gathered. He divides the bibliography into three parts: the Roman breviary; breviaries of religious orders; diocesan breviaries. Under each heading he proceeds chronologically and in the same year he lists alphabetically according to place and printer. There are several useful indexes.

No breviary is listed as printed in the New World during the period. The English translation by the Marquis of Bute in 1879 is given despite its late date. German translations are most numerous. The book is attractively printed. It will be of especial service to liturgists, librarians, and collectors. (ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER)

A CENTURY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. A Series of Lectures Delivered at Duke University during the Academic Year 1938-1939. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. vii, 172. $2.00.) In connection with its centennial celebration during the academic year 1938-1939, Duke University sponsored a series of lectures, the general purpose of which was to present the main currents

of thought and action in the various domains of social endeavor during the past one hundred years. A glance at the names of the leaders chosen to discuss the trends in their respective fields is sufficient to enlist the immediate interest of the reader and a perusal of the lectures will be found to fulfill amply the expectation aroused.

Charles H. Judd, Emeritus Professor of Education at the University of Chicago, chose as his topic "An Evolving Conception of General Education". Taking issue, as he has consistently done, with the defenders of the classical tradition, he proposes a program of general education which will develop in all citizens the power of independent thinking and a broad social understanding as a foundation for any and every type of professional or occupational training.

Harold G. Moulton, President of the Brookings Institution, undertakes "the modest assignment of reviewing a century of economic development, with its accompanying evolution of economic thought", which he handles very well indeed. While recognizing the relativity of economic thought, he maintains that economics may rightly be classed as a science and that the student of the subject need have no feeling of inferiority in this regard.

Henry Sloane Coffin, President of Union Theological Seminary, presents a summary review of the various movements which he feels have been responsible for the changes that have occurred in men's thinking concerning religion during the period under discussion. These are, briefly, the romantic movement, the application of the historical method to biblical criticism, the spread of the evolutionary hypothesis, the psychological movement, and the democratic movement. Particularly noteworthy is his emphasis on the tendency in Protestantism to abandon the "socialization" of religion and to return to the conception of religion as divine worship.

John C. Merriam, President Emeritus of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, discusses the present status of the age-old conflict between faith and science. While leaving much to be desired, his treatment of the question is, on the whole, scholarly and quite free of bias. His recognition of the need for synthesis as well as analysis in the study of reality is in accord with the best philosophical thought of our day.

It was quite fitting that a discussion of socio-cultural trends in Europe and America should have been assigned to Dr. Sorokin, who has treated the subject at length in his *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. Sorokin's thesis is that there is no essential difference between the culture of Europe and that of America and that such variations as occur are concerned with minor details. Several examples drawn from economics, politics, philosophy, religion, science, art, and literature serve to demonstrate the basic identity of the two cultures.

"Plan and Performance" is the subject of a lecture delivered by Robert Moses, Commissioner of Parks for New York City, in which he discusses the growth and development of city and state-wide planning. An enthusiastic advocate of planning, he does not believe that it can or should be applied to everything in life. His philosophy he describes as a forward-looking conservatism. Those who hold this philosophy, relying on common sense, a knowledge of history, good vision, first-hand experience in government affairs, courage in the face of opposition, and ability to speak and write forcibly, aim to serve

the present and the next generation by persuading, without cajoling or forcing, the public to accept what they think is sound and in accordance with the real needs of a civilized people.

Roscoe Pound, in his lecture entitled "American Juristic Thinking in the Twentieth Century", goes beyond the limits implied in his topic and presents a concise account of the historical development of the science of law from the 5th century B. C. to our own day. The three "lines of thought" which have been adduced to explain law, the idealistic, the realistic, and "the line of unification", are discussed at some length and their contributions evaluated. Favoring the last named "line", Pound looks to the philosophy of law to develop a positive side and to "give us faith in an eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness."

Taken as a whole, this series of lectures is well worth preserving in permanent form. While each lecture is complete in itself and will therefore have an appeal that will be greater or lesser in accordance with the leanings of the reader, there is a unity of theme running through the series that serves to bind them together in a serviceable discussion of the main social trends of our era which will prove of value to all who are interested in the solution of our social problems. (EDWARD B. JORDAN)

COOPER, LANE. *Aristotelian Papers*. Revised and Reprinted. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 237. $2.50.) In this volume Professor Cooper has brought together all the articles and book reviews dealing in any way with Aristotle which he has published in the past. The relation of some papers here included to the name of "Aristotelian" may appear slight to the casual reader, but Professor Cooper insists that his debt to Aristotle as a critic and thinker is evident at least to himself in every one of them, and that, while the mention of Aristotle's name in one or two of them may appear incidental, not one of them would have taken its shape, or had its spirit, if his preoccupation with Aristotle, and especially with the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, had not been intense.

Part I contains the following articles: Some Wordsworthian Similies (1907), The Fifth Form of 'Discovery' in the *Poetics* of Aristotle (1918), A Pun in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (1920), The Climax (1924), Haemon and Jocasta Advising (1929), The *Rhetoric* of Aristotle and its Relation to the *Poetics* (1935), Galileo and Scientific History (1936), and the Verbal 'Ornament' (1938).

Part II is composed of the following book reviews: The Villain as 'Hero' (1916), Gudeman's Translation of the *Poetics* (1923), The Oxford Translation of Aristotle, *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* (1925), Ross on Aristotle (1925), Smyth on Aeschylus (1925), Stock's 'Aristotelianism' (1928), Burnet on Aristotle (1928), Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Mr. Lowes (1928), The *Poetics* in the Loeb Classical Library (1928), and Gudeman's edition of the *Poetics* (1936).

All the reviews in this collection may well be considered original studies, since in every one Professor Cooper throws some light on the subject of the book reviewed. In all the reviews also the air of local and temporary interest at an earlier date has been removed. Throughout both the reviews and articles, Professor Cooper has been ready to develop and improve without changing the original nature of the papers.

The papers as a whole deal chiefly in illustrations drawn from ancient and modern sources, of Aristotle's meaning in doubtful passages. They settle finally some disputes of long standing, notably, that about the verbal 'ornament' in the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, about the reference to Carcinus' Oedipus, and about the joke on Nicon the harper. It should be stated also that the present volume is supplementary to the six volumes which Professor Cooper has already published in the field of Aristotle, of outstanding consideration being his expanded translations of the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric*.

Professor Cooper has always stood for the fundamental fact of the unity of all literature. Although a professor of English literature, he has never defined his field of work as limited to the literature in the English language. All literature presented in the vehicle of whatever language has been grist for his mill if it has led to a better understanding of the English field. Thus it was quite natural for him to study thoroughly such fundamental works for the understanding of all literature as Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. Scholars of both English and Greek literature will be very happy to have the material of these papers arranged for them in the convenience of a single volume. (Roy J. Deferrari)

Cross, Arthur Lyon. *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain*. 3rd Ed. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xxvi, 1004. $4.25.)

Clapham, J. H., Litt.D., F.B.A. *An Economic History of Modern Britain. Machines and National Rivalries (1887-1914)—With an Epilogue (1914-1929)*. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xiv, 577. $7.00.)

The first of these two volumes needs little introduction. It has been recognized as a survey of exceptionally fine balance and comprehensiveness. Professor Cross offers to the student and reader a rare combination of interesting narrative, current historical interpretation and scholarly discernment, as well as a striking use of detail. In orderly fashion he reveals the elements which have molded the social, economic, political and religious life of the British Empire. In this new edition corrections have been made and new material added particularly for the period from 1929 to 1938. Through the economic and financial difficulties of the decade the author takes the reader to that of the jubilee year of George V in 1935 when Neville Chamberlain announced that "Great Britain had recovered four-fifths of its prosperity" (p. 857). The final chapter presents an account of the death of George V and the abdication of Edward VIII. Here too will be found a brief but quite complete review of the progress of the possessions of the empire and their post-war problems. Numerous maps in color help to clarify the geographical setting. Each chapter has very helpful revised bibliographical aids. To the student of English and European history one of the most valuable sections will be the genealogical tables of rulers of England and Greater Britain: related families and claimants.

The sub-title *Machines and National Rivalries, 1887-1914* indicates the subject matter of Dr. Clapham's third volume of the *Economic History of Modern Britain*. The two previous volumes of this series, *The Early Railway Age, 1820-1850* and *Free Trade and Steel, 1850-1886*, trace the economic situation to the period of the present volume. This last contribution describes the position of agriculture in industrial England, the status of laborers, both

men and women, as well as the advancement of family life in the working groups. The economic influence of cotton, iron and other industries is well defined and the improvements of the system of "iron-veined communication" (p. 347) throughout the empire emphasized in interesting sections. By comparison with the continent and America the author has brought out in bold relief the growth and development in England.

The epilogue is an essay on the economic conditions for the decade following the year 1919. Very briefly the author sketches the changes, good and bad, in every phase of economic living. The variety and amount of information collected within the pages of this volume prove at first glance to be confusing but a deeper study reveals the careful research of Professor Clapham. The footnotes, which are abundant throughout the chapters, contain numerous references and valuable information on a diversity of subjects from fodder, rubber and electricity, to textiles, coal and milling. Bibliographical references also appear here and are adequate. Scales and charts are numerous and enhance the usefulness of the text.

Considerable space is given in both volumes mentioned to the cooperative movement and trade-unionism. The attention these are attracting as possible solutions to the economic strain of the present day makes this emphasis very timely. A perusal of either of these volumes will be time well spent. (SISTER REGINA BASKA)

DOWELL, ELDRIDGE FOSTER. *A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. 176. $1.50.)

The purpose of this study is to describe the successful and unsuccessful attempts to pass criminal syndicalism laws in the United States during and immediately following the World War. Criminal syndicalism is defined as "the doctrine which advocates crime, violence, sabotage, or other unlawful methods as a means of industrial or political reform".

During the World War American industrial leaders and professional patriots led a crusade against the International Workers of the World specifically and all "radical elements" generally. Belief that "thar orta be a law" found expression in a number of criminal syndicalist laws passed by various states. After the war, the "Red" hysteria and the open-shop drive supplanted the I.W.W. as the center of the attack. Since the laws had been passed with amazing speed, little or no attention had been paid to the vagueness of their terminology. The ease with which this patriotic legislation could be applied against any dissenting group and the frequent disregard by the crusaders of the bill of rights led to opposition. Progressive elements in the nation were successful in opposing the creation of more such legislation and in the modification of the existing laws. Organized labor was particularly active, since it had gradually come under the definition of "radical elements".

This study is unusually pertinent and deserves consideration. The unwillingness of majorities to go beneath the exterior and determine the economic causes of the minorities' protests is matched only by the unintelligent, naïve belief in the efficacy of legal cures for economic ills.

The author has done an enormous amount of work in a scholarly manner. He should be complimented for his objectivity. (GEORGE T. BROWN)

EMRICH, RICHARD S. *The Conception of the Church in the Writings and Life of the German-English Philosopher Baron Friedrich von Hügel.* (München: Verlag Ernest Reinhardt. 1939. Pp. 51. RM 2.50.) In this study the author begins logically with von Hügel's general conception of religion. Religion, for von Hügel, is composed of three integral elements: the institutional historical, the intellectual rational and the mystic intuitive. Each part of this triad should aid and check the others; any over-development of one part without regard for the others leads to harmful excesses. (Ch. I). To justify the institutional element or visible organization of the Church in general, von Hügel argues from the historical service the institution has performed, from the social character of religion, from the relationship between sense and spirit, and, finally, from the teachings of Jesus Christ, St. Paul and the remainder of the New Testament. (Chs. II–V). Von Hügel's attitude towards Rome and the papacy, which he regarded as the symbol and expression of the unity of the Church, was one of loyalty. However, he criticized Rome for excessive political ambitions, for disproportionate emphasis upon authority, and for intellectual narrowness. (Ch. VI).

The author's treatment of von Hügel's conception of the Church is clear, concise and fairly complete. The baron's position on the specific hierarchical organization of the Roman Catholic Church might have been given greater development. No reference was made to his *Notes on the Petrine Claims.* Although it seems at least an exaggeration to place him in a class with St. Augustine and St. Thomas (p. 6), von Hügel was a profound religious thinker. The author is to be highly commended for this succinct, scholarly presentation of von Hügel's thought. (JAMES A. LAUBACHER)

EVANS, JOAN. *Chateaubriand. A Biography.* (London: Macmillan and Co. 1939. Pp. xiii, 380. $4.00.) The author of this life of Chateaubriand informs us in her preface that the book "is based, often to the point of translation, on the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*" (pp. vii-viii). The *Mémoires* were further supplemented by the *Correspondance générale* and works of a secondary nature. The result of such close adherence to the *Mémoires* is to present a picture which is filled with gossipy and picturesque detail, but rather disappointing to the reader who might seek the broader canvas of Chateaubriand's participation in the stirring events of his age. It is true that there is probably not much left to reveal about the colorful author of *Génie du Christianisme,* for of books about him there is not yet an end, such as the studies of Le-Savoureux, Duchemin, and Maurois in the last three years.

One lays down this book with the impression that he has been following an incurable vagrant, for from the time he journeyed to St. Malo as a young man in his teens with the idea of taking ship to India (p. 30), until as a man nearing eighty he answered the summons of the Bourbon heir to meet him in Venice (p. 355), he was on the move. Practically all of France, the United States, Greece, the Holy Land, Egypt, Berlin, London, Madrid, Rome, Prague came within his *milieu* at one time or another, with repeated short trips into Switzerland. The variety of the man's experiences was amazing—and often amusing—as for example the night he got locked in Westminster Abbey and spent the lonely hours with the monuments (p. 97), or the days spent trudg-

ing through the wilds of western New York to see the savages of Jean Jacques in the flesh with a Dutch guide directing him to within the roar of Niagara Falls (pp. 64-69). One feels Chateaubriand must have enjoyed too the conclave of March, 1829 which elected Pius VIII, for he does not fail to note the anecdotes to which such gatherings give rise, as the one of Cardinal Odescalchi being discovered signalling to the Jesuits across the garden from the conclave chamber windows (p. 302).

The contacts with the priests of St. Sulpice which Chateaubriand had at intervals through his life form a curious thread running through his career, dating from the time he met the first band of Sulpicians on board the *Saint Pierre* coming to America in April, 1791 to found St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore (p. 54). His chats with these good men did not leave too comforting an impression on the mind of the superior when he watched one of his young associates growing friendly with the dashing sophisticate. Twelve years later the Abbé Emery sought him out as first secretary of the French embassy in Rome to have him act as intermediary in presenting to Pius VII the true position of the French clergy on the Concordat (p. 145), and this *démarche* of Emery's resulted in a correspondence between them which was opened by the censors of Bonaparte to the embarrassment of both Chateaubriand and Emery (p. 152).

With due respects to the explanation of the author as to the personal emphasis in this volume the serious student of history will remain unsatisfied. For instance, one can call the treatment of Chateaubriand's brief tenure of the foreign office hardly above the trivial (pp. 282-287). There are several slips. None very widely read in the life of the great secretary of state of Pius VII would term Consalvi the "great ally of Fesch" (p. 151). Consalvi was wise enough to value Fesch for what he was. Then is it not a bit premature to speak of the news of Ferdinand VII's release from the hands of the Spanish rebels in 1823 as being "received by telegraph" (p. 286)? For 'unsuccessful' in line 23 of page 339 one should read 'successful'; and for the sake of uniformity line 13, page 335 should read 'Duchess de Berry', not 'of Berry'. It is doubtful if the eyebrows which arched at the numerous illicit love affairs of Chateaubriand, the story of which filled his life, would drop entirely their reproving peak at the touching return to the practice of his religion which the old man staged in the last years of his life (p. 352). But though his life was not edifying, yet it was far from lacking in virtue. His generosity was winning as was also his sense of honor and integrity which did not permit him to stoop to receive favors from a government whose principles met his disapproval, for example his high-minded and courageous resignation of his ambassadorial post at Rome because of the appointment of the Prince de Polignac to the ministry of foreign affairs (p. 307).

The volume concludes with a list of the first editions of Chateaubriand's principal works, a select bibliography, and an adequate index of place and personal names. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

HABIG, MARION A., O.F.M. *Heroes of the Cross.* (New York: Fortuny's. 1939. Pp. 175. $2.00.) This is a handy reference book for the story of the Franciscan martyrs in North America, not only of the United States as such

but also those of Canada, Mexico and Central America. Special attention, however, is given to those of the United States. As the pagination indicates, the biographies included in the book are necessarily of a sketchy character. Nevertheless, they serve the purpose of an adequate introduction to this special phase of New World biography, unfortunately too little known, even by historians.

Father Habig points out the interesting fact that not only were Franciscans the protomartyrs of Mexico, United States and Canada but that it was particularly within the confines of what is now the United States that the blood of martyrs flowed freely. There were as many as sixty-nine Franciscan martyrs in ten different states—in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska and Colorado. He concludes the division on the martyrs of the United States by a short account of Father Leo Heinrichs, killed by an anarchist in St. Elizabeth's Church, Denver, in 1909.

There are several tables of interest, a number of reference notes, a useful bibliography, an index and several illustrations and maps. There is a surprising use of the expression "Roman Church" on the blurb which might suggest an unfamiliarity with things Catholic by the publishers of this little book. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

HACKER, LOUIS M. *American Problems of Today: A History of the United States Since The World War.* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1938. Pp. xiii, 354. $2.00.) This post-war history of the United States which covers the period from Harding's election in 1920 through the "recession" of 1937-1938 is primarily a survey of American economic life and its problems. Indeed, the one chapter devoted to cultural history, "Life, Letters, and Art in Machine Age", seems strangely out of place in a work whose main emphasis is upon the economic history of our times. Written around what the author believes to be the central problems of our contemporary history: (1) the apparent inability of capitalism to function in terms of a free market; (2) the bureaucracy of state capitalism; and (3) the danger of involvement in foreign war, the work presents a clear, concise, and, on the whole, dispassionate survey of American economic and political history in the 20's and 30's.

The causes of the breakdown of the *laissez-faire* or passive state as it existed prior to the depression are clearly portrayed as is the rise of state capitalism with its multitudinous and diverse activities. No one part of the work is any more valuable than that section which treats of the agencies of the "New Deal" and their functions. Here, the author shows the danger of bureaucracy arising from irresponsible independent establishments with their interlocking directorates. Clearly he shows the need for greater responsibility on their part to both the government itself, particularly the legislature, and to the popular will. Of current interest is the analysis of President Roosevelt's foreign policy which the author finds diametrically opposed to his domestic policy. In an odious comparison he likens Mr. Roosevelt to both Colbert and Louis XIV. As Louis XIV, "Mr. Roosevelt is the crusader: he seeks to bring his message of enlightenment into other nations—by peace of course, with the sword if need be" (p. 332). It is doubtful whether the author himself, writing in the autumn of 1939 rather than in 1938, would now agree with

that statement. The work includes a valuable bibliography and is replete with maps, charts, and business indices. (JOHN L. MCMAHON)

HANNA, A. J. *Flight Into Oblivion.* (Richmond: Johnson Publishing Co. Pp. xiv, 306. $2.75.) *Flight Into Oblivion* by Professor Hanna of Rollins College is primarily a scholarly contribution to the history of the Confederacy, yet it has the drama of the historical novel. It records the flight of the Confederate cabinet as an entity, as long as it remained intact, and it then follows its constituent members to their escape or capture.

Gideon Welles, federal Secretary of the Navy, quoted Lincoln as expressing the opinion that the Confederate leaders would flee to foreign countries: "He often expressed a wish that they might be facilitated in their escape, and no strenuous efforts made to prevent their egress."

But the cabinet members were vigorously pursued. Jefferson Davis and his Vice-President, Alexander Stephens, were apprehended in Georgia. Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, barely escaped from federal pursuers in South Carolina, disguised himself as a French traveler, made his way to Florida by carriage and horseback, and once was so near the federals that a sneeze would have betrayed him. In a sixteen-foot boat, he sailed from Charlotte Harbor in Florida to the Bimini Islands, the 600-mile voyage taking 17 dangerous days.

Stephen Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, was less fortunate; captured at LaGrange, Georgia, he was imprisoned until March 1866. The Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy of Charleston were among those who asked President Johnson to pardon George Alfred Trenholm, captured Secretary of the Treasury; in their efforts to aid Union soldiers in prisons and hospitals "we have never applied in vain for aid to this honorable gentleman", they wrote the President. He was pardoned October 25th, 1866.

The book is a splendid contribution to the history of the Confederacy. Relegating the footnotes to the rear helps the appearance of the pages but it is inconvenient for the reader. (RICHARD REID)

HILL, LOUISE BILES, PH.D. *Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 360. $3.50.) Dr. Hill's study of Georgia's wartime governor, Joseph E. Brown, follows him through a tortuous career as a state rights Democratic and secessionist governor, as a radical Republican reconstructionist chief justice of the state's supreme court, and as a conservative democratic United States senator—a career which prompted Senator Mahone of Virginia to express doubt whether the "world had produced a man who could so readily readjust himself to all conditions and all circumstances."

Governor Brown was "first in war and first in peace"; he seized Fort Pulaski near Savannah three months before the War formally opened at Fort Sumter and he was one of the most influential factors in the effort to spread the impression that Jefferson Davis was the only obstacle to a negotiated and honorable peace. His long career in public office was due, Dr. Hill concludes, not to his being "first in the hearts of his countrymen", but rather to his ability to escape the inclemency of the wind by veering with the weather.

Born in South Carolina, his education was secured by immense sacrifice; he finished a year at Yale at the age of 25, practiced law, and was elected governor as a "dark horse" candidate 11 years later, serving the unprecedented period of 8 years. His election was as much a disappointment to the aristocrats of Georgia as that of Andrew Jackson had been to the aristocrats of the nation at an earlier day.

An ardent secessionist, Brown was nevertheless to be a thorn in the side of the Confederate authorities; they were to learn, Dr. Hill says, that no question with Governor Brown was ever settled until it was settled in his way. He had differences with the officials of the Confederacy about the place of mustering in of troops, the appointment of officers, the retaining of state arms, and the defense of the coast; he vigorously opposed conscription, the Confederacy's financial regulations, Confederate control of the blockade, suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and other government measures, always jealously guarding the rights of the states against centralization of authority at Richmond. He generally had the support or in turn supported Robert Toombs and Alexander Stephens in these attitudes.

Brown was accused of being prompted by jealousy of Davis and by his own insatiable ambition for higher political honors, an accusation strengthened by his affiliation with the radical Republicans in reconstruction days; Governor Bullock, the Republican governor, demoted Chief Justice Ware to give his post to Brown. When the Bullock Republican régime started to totter, Brown began his trek back to the Democratic Party, won a place of power in it, managed to be appointed and then elected to the United States senate, and served until his retirement March 4th, 1891, three years before his death.

Dr. Hill's work is a noteworthy contribution to the historical literature of the Confederacy, and indicates wide and competent research. It is easily seen why this volume should be awarded the Baruch prize by a committee of the United Daughters of the Confederacy for a contribution to southern history. One wonders, however, whether Brown was always wrong and Jefferson Davis always right, or whether the reserved and distant Davis was not sometimes as difficult as the dogged and democratic Brown. (Richard Reid)

Hutchinson, William T. (Editor). *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography.* By his Former Students at the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. x, 417. $4.00.) This volume was published as a testimonial to Professor Jernegan at the time of his retirement from the Department of History of the University of Chicago. He deserved this tribute; for nearly 30 years he gave faithful and fruitful service to his institution and to those who came under his competent direction. It is said that he was a strict and exacting teacher, but he was thorough, as would be expected of a pupil of Dr. Jameson and a former member of the staff of Carnegie Institution; and the students who contribute to this volume show the results of that discipline. From his seminar they acquired the critical appreciation of historical writers and writings which is shown in these essays.

The scope of the volume as indicated in the preface is not "to furnish a comprehensive survey of American historiography"; the studies all deal with

scholars "whose work is finished and who directed their research mainly toward United States history prior to the close of the Civil War." The purpose was to select "representatives of several of the leading types of historians." The representatives chosen are George Bancroft, Hildredth, Parkman, Von Holst, Schouler, Woodrow Wilson, McMaster, Fiske, Rhodes, Henry Adams, Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, Frederick Turner, Osgood, Channing, G. L. Beer, Alvord, Van Tyne, U. B. Phillips, Beveridge, and Vernon Parrington. Of these the studies of Rhodes and Schouler appeared in modified form in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and in the same journal, parts of the essays on Bancroft, Fiske, and Channing.

Space allowance does not make it practicable to review each contribution to the volume. There is a certain unity of treatment: biographical items are used only to show influence upon the later career and historical predilections; the subjects' works are analyzed and evaluated, and the effort made to show defects as well as virtues. They are critical studies even if the reader will sometimes disagree with the conclusions. In some instances, notably Professor Commager's essay on Henry Adams, the study of the man is given the emphasis and his conception of history and its formula is made intelligible through this mode of approach.

Students will be greatly benefited by the use of this book. They will learn much from it, they will be able to extend their own critical faculties by checking its findings with their own readings, and they will profit by adopting its method in their appraisal of other historians whose names are not to be found herein. (LEO F. STOCK)

LUSK, RALPH L. (Editor). *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Six Volumes. Pp. lxvi, 458, 471, 462, 541, 546, 633. Sold only as a Set. $30.00.) The six volumes now published contain 4,374 letters, of which 2,313 were never before printed, 271 hitherto partly printed, 509 already printed and listed and 1,281 known to have been written and listed here. This collected edition, superseding other collections, was prepared by Ralph L. Lusk, Professor of English in Columbia University; it represents one of the most outstanding pieces of bibliographic research published in this country. The collection is prefaced by a detailed essay analyzing the subject content of the letters and the general tenor of the topics included in the letters; without this preface the letters by themselves might be in some instances unintelligible.

The letters are literally presented without "interpolations, corrections or apologies"; they are, however, not printed without explanatory notes; footnotes, explanatory and bibliographical, are plentiful and explain not only some hidden points in the letters, but also the allusions and references contained in letters written earlier. Although the texts have been established from the originals or photostatic copies, the editor has given the present ownership and locations of all the letters included.

The Emerson correspondence covers the period from 1813 to 1881, although the first complete letter actually given is dated May 6th, 1814. They are arranged in chronological order and although this arrangement may be inconvenient for those who would refer to the letters topically, the cross references

from later to earlier letters and the excellent index facilitate their use for topical reference.

The index is one of the salient features of this edition and comprises nearly 300 pages. It is admirable not only from the viewpoint of its detail, but also because it gives the page references immediately after every entry although the same topic may be entered in several places; this obviates necessity of looking up several entries before arriving at the entry which lists the page reference. One minor criticism might be mentioned, namely, the references are given to page only without indicating whether the reference is in the letter or in a foot-note; while this criticism in no way detracts from the value of the index, the use of a differentiation mark would save time in looking up the references.

This edition of Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Letters* sets a standard in editing and bibliographic research which ought to become a model for other publications of this kind. (VICTOR A. SCHAEFER)

MACARTNEY, CLARENCE EDWARD, and GORDAN DORRANCE. *The Bonapartes in America.* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co. 1939. Pp. 286. $3.00.) In this book there is little that will appeal to the professional historian, but much that will interest the amateur genealogist. The title does not convey a true picture of the scope of the volume. Less than two-thirds of the book is devoted to the Bonapartes; the remainder deals with such interesting but varied subjects as the Maximilian venture in Mexico, Napoleonic exiles in Alabama, North Carolina, and Texas, the Louisiana purchase, and American plots to rescue Napoleon. None of these latter chapters is either exhaustive in character or properly integrated with the volume as a whole. They give the impression of having been written originally as separate articles, and then inexpertly joined together to pad out a skimpy volume of materials on the American Bonapartes.

That part of the work that justifies its title is not the product of historical scholarship, but it does provide a summary (and at times interesting) narration of the lives of the principal Bonapartes connected with America. Jerome, the brother of Napoleon, and his Baltimore wife, Elizabeth Patterson, assume first rank as being the founders of the American branch of the family. Their descendants receive a chapter's attention, with some 26 pages and a separate chapter being reserved for Charles Joseph Bonaparte, grandson of Jerome and Elizabeth, and the only Bonaparte to achieve civic distinction in the United States. Charles Joseph, a trustee of the Catholic University of America, served as Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy and Attorney General. Joseph Bonaparte, elder brother of Napoleon and ex-King of Spain, who lived in exile at Bordentown, New Jersey, for many years, receives a large share of attention.

The best that can be said for this volume is that it is an industrious compilation of facts, the majority of which are easily obtainable by reference to other specialized works. In a few places, such as the chapter devoted to American attempts to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena, there is some evidence of original research, but so poorly are the materials handled that it becomes of little value. The book has neither the charm of a distinctive

style, nor the grace of an easily-flowing narrative, which qualities frequently serve to recommend a volume of popularized history that has no other claim to originality. (JOHN J. MENG)

MACARTNEY, MAXWELL H. H. and PAUL CREMONA. *Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy—1914-1937.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 353. $3.00.) Mr. Macartney was for many years Rome correspondent of the London *Times;* Mr. Cremona, after some years as Mr. Macartney's assistant, took up a similar post for the *Christian Science Monitor.* Their position at the very center of Italian power and policy has given the authors an excellent background and preparation for their work dealing with the pre-Fascist and Fascist policy of Italy in foreign and colonial affairs. Their work, moreover, is far more scholarly, fair and objective than one is accustomed to expect when foreign correspondents "take their pens in hand." Until the passing of time shall have opened the archives of the chancelries of Europe's governments to shed more light on controversial matters, it may well stand as an accurate and readable survey of its subject.

If the book may be said to have a main thesis, it is that Italy's policy has remained essentially the same throughout the period, despite the apparently revolutionary change that has carried her from the "Grand Alliance" of 1914-1918 with England and France to the side of their former common enemy, in the Rome-Berlin Axis. That policy may be described as the consistent pursuit of national interests, which are to be realized by whatever means are available at any moment. The only real change that has occurred has been in the greater vigor and success with which she has pursued those interests since Mussolini undertook the "regeneration" of his country.

While the full measure of the "sacred egoism" of Italy in bargaining with both Central Powers and Allies in 1914-1915 is strikingly put, together with her justifiable resentment at the treatment accorded her at the Peace Conference, naturally the chief interest of this work lies in the treatment of more recent events. One of the gloomier points stressed is the extreme difficulty, if not the impossibility, of arranging an acceptable compromise between British and Italian interests in the Mediterranean. In treating the Ethiopian crisis, the authors bring forward data to justify the altruistic character of the attitude of the British, who are absolved of any selfish ambitions towards the Negus' domain; such ambitions were alleged by the Fascist press in 1935-1936 to account for the zeal of Great Britain in leading the League effort to frustrate the Italian conquest.

The conclusion that Italy has found it "cheaper to subsidize a nominally independent Albania than to hold by force and adminster a turbulent and essentially xenophobe country" has been upset by the events of the past April (or perhaps the future will serve only to prove the truth of that conclusion!). The factors tending to weaken the Rome-Berlin Axis are examined, but the authors reach the conclusion that European diplomacy must for the present accept it as a fact; the wisdom of this opinion has been confirmed by the military alliance that was signed between the two Powers on May 22nd of last year.

Mussolini's attitude towards the League of Nations is presented as a most realistic one; he was willing to work with the League when it worked, but he declined to be limited by it: "with Geneva, without Geneva, or against Geneva." He is also shown as one of the very few (President Hoover of the United States would be another) who approached the disarmament problem and Conference in full good faith, expressing the willingness of his government "to accept *a priori*, as the limit of its own armaments, any figure whatever, even the lowest, provided it is not surpassed by any other Continental Power." In these words is given the basic principle upon which Italy plots her course of action: *Il Duce* has made Italy a Great Power, and he intends that she shall be treated as such and accepted on a footing of complete equality with all other Great Powers.

The arrangement of the work is topical rather than strictly chronological, a method of approach which, while it does not give a composite picture of the multiplicity of Italian interests and concerns, does make for a better grasp of each problem in turn. The addition of maps would have been appreciated by the general reader; reference to other parts of the book might have been made by pages, rather than by chapters. (JOSEPH H. BRADY)

Mediaeval Studies. Published for the Institute of Mediaeval Studies. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1939. Volume I. Pp. vi, 280.) The first volume of *Mediaeval Studies* to come out of the Institute of Mediaeval Studies, St. Michael's College, Toronto, establishes two important facts: the solid scholarship of the members of the Institute, and the wide scope of their interests and researches in the learning of the Middle Ages. In it are contained historical, philosophical, literary and critical studies in the fields of philosophy, liturgy, Latin, canon law and hagiography.

Professor Etienne Gilson opens the volume with a study of Franz Brentano's interpretation of mediaeval history. In his inimitable way he shows that the "four phases" through which Brentano conceived the history of philosophy to have evolved in regularly recurring cycles—ancient, mediaeval, modern—cannot be chronologically successive stages or periods which have followed one upon another. These so-called phases are but "necessary relations between philosophical principles and philosophical consequences, and those relations are bound to repeat themselves every time, the same principles being posited, philosophers will think consistently enough to pursue them to their ultimate conclusions." Moreover, for Brentano the four phases of philosophy were "an empirical explanation of essentially philosophical relations." He identified psychological laws with philosophical knowledge, and as a result his method of investigating the succession of philosophical doctrines was vitiated and misleading. The chief primary sources are J. A. Möhler's *History of the Church*, compiled by Brentano from the posthumous notes of Möhler, and *Die vier Phasen der Philosophie und ihr angenblicklichen Stand* by Brentano.

Father Gerald Phelan contributes a paper on "Verum sequitur esse rerum", a philosophical enquiry into a question which "belongs to that realm of thought in which problems of ontology overlap problems of knowledge." This scholarly article is based mostly on the *De veritate* and the *Summa theologica* of St. Thomas.

Three small works are edited: *Summa de officiis ecclesiae* of Guy d'Orchelles by Father V. L. Kennedy; *Le vie sainte Barbe*, anonymous, by Father A. J. Denomy; and *Exigit ordo executionis* of Nicholas of Autrecourt by Father J. R. O'Donnell. The *Summa* of Guy of Orchelles has been preserved in a single MS — Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 17501 (13th cent.). The work was written sometime during the first third of the 13th century and reveals the character of liturgical writings of that period; that is, in it the rites of the Church are examined *theologicis rationibus* and not explained through mystical or symbolic interpretations in the traditional manner from Amalar of Metz (9th cent.), or even from Isidore of Seville (7th cent.), to John Beleth (12th cent.). The *Summa* is therefore a theological treatise on the offices of the Church and not a description of the liturgy nor a historical study of the origins of feasts and ceremonies. The principal sources of Guy's treatise are John Beleth, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, and Prepositinus of Cremona.

The life of Saint Barbara, which is in poetic form, has also come down to us in a sole MS—Brussels, Bibl. roy., MS 10295-304 (15th cent.). This Old French version of the *Legend of Saint Barbara*, which is a compilation of 42 saints' legends in prose and poetry, dates from the end of the 13th or from the beginning of the 14th century. An extensive study of the dialect of the poem precedes the text.

Only one MS of the *Exigit ordo executionis* is known—Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS misc. can. 43. The editor discusses neither the exact date nor the sources of the treatise. He has adopted modern spellings, since "there seems to be no point in reproducing the mediaeval manner of spelling, which is neither familiar to us nor useful in a non-philological work." The editor has amended the text wherever evident corruption was found. He has felt that in the most obvious cases it was superfluous to note the corrections, but it would have been better in all instances to have included the erroneous readings in the footnotes.

In all three texts edited, variant readings are noted by superscribed small letters, while sources and other references are indicated by arabic numerals. The editors have not, therefore, followed the recommendations of the Union Académique Internationale in these matters. For this they may be criticized by some on the ground that there should now be international uniformity in the editing of Latin texts. This reviewer, however, believes that there are very definite advantages in noting variant readings by the superscribed letters, while the use of numerals for other footnote references is perfectly legitimate, especially in small works where these references are not numerous.

J. T. Muckle's scholarly contribution on "The De officiis ministrorum of Saint Ambrose" and Father T. P. McLaughlin's excellent study, "The teaching of the canonists on usury" complete this first volume of *Mediaeval Studies*. The subtitle of Father Muckle's paper gives the object of his research: "An example of the process of the christianization of the Latin language." The principal expression studies are *vita beata* and *vita aeterna*, *virtus* and *natura*, *officium perfectum* and *officium medium*, and *virtutes cardinales*. Father McLaughlin's study is based on the writings of outstanding canonists of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, and is divided into four parts: Opposition between the Canon and Civil Law; The nature of usury; Cases

where something may be received above the capital; Punishment of usurers. Unfortunately this last part is not contained in this first volume but will be included in the second volume, the publication of which mediaevalists will be eagerly awaiting. An index of names and subject matter would add greatly to the usefulness and value of future volumes of this series. (PHILIP S. MOORE)

MERRY DEL VAL, CARDINAL. *Memories of Pope Pius X.* Forewords by Cardinal Hinsley and Cardinal Hayes. (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1939. Pp. xvii, 81. 3s. 6d.) This little book owes its publication to Cardinal Canali, executor of the will of Cardinal Merry Del Val. In his introduction the latter says of the memoirs, "they narrate simple facts that I am able to vouch for, and I have carefully refrained from going beyond the limits of personal reminiscences" (p. xvii). The time of the memoirs runs from the morning of August 3rd, 1903, when Monsignor Merry Del Val as secretary of the conclave that elected Pius X, met the future pope for the first time at prayer in the Cappella Paolina in bearing a message of the Cardinal Dean (p. 2), to August 20th, 1914, the day of the pope's death (p. 76).

From the first brief chapter where the reader learns the reaction of Cardinal Sarto to the news that the cardinals were leaning towards his selection to succeed Leo XIII (pp. 2-3) to the final chapter on "Last Illness and Death" (pp. 70-76), there is something about the story that fascinates one. What that something is can probably be set down to the inimitable manner in which Merry Del Val portrays the saintly man whom he served so closely for 11 years. One point which any reader will remark was the pope's humility and simplicity, exemplified so well in his answer to the query whether he would give his first blessing from within or without St. Peter's: "I shall be guided by the judgment of the Sacred College." (p. 5). Another is the instance of the enterprising jeweler who left on deposit at the Vatican a magnificent pectoral cross and then three weeks later sent a bill for over 3000 francs. When Pius X learned of it his reply was: "Ah no, you don't imagine, do you, that I am disposed to spend all this money on a cross for myself? Here, thank the man and return it at once. Surely there are plenty of crosses left by the late Pope, and in any case I shall be quite satisfied with the one I brought from Venice" (p. 56). Again, the exquisite consideration for others, especially inferiors, which is always the mark of greatness, as when the pope endured thirst on a hot summer afternoon rather than take the risk of hurting his personal attendant, who had gone out for the day, by allowing the latter to feel he had neglected his duty in seeing another servant in his place (p. 67). A final testimony to Pius X's humility is contained in the evidence which Cardinal Merry Del Val submits that the pope was always ready to take suggestions from those who served him. He says: "He welcomed reasonable criticism from any quarter without the slightest sign of annoyance, and if convinced, I have often heard him remark: 'Well, my work has come to nothing. No doubt there are wiser heads than mine. I dare say they know best.'" (p. 66). Anyone acquainted with Pius X's fight against Modernism and the anti-clerical government of the French republic will not set down this humility to weakness; if any doubt remains let him

read the stirring words spoken to the French bishops on April 20th, 1909 and here quoted by the Cardinal (pp. 40-42).

There are many interesting comments which could be made on this book; for example priests will be especially pleased to learn from Cardinal Merry Del Val that Pius X wrote his famous *Exhortatio ad Clerum*, "page by page during intervals of spare time in little over a fortnight. . . . It was exclusively his own personal efforts". (p. 38). Space forbids more quotation, but this little book is instructive not only on Pius X as a priest and chief shepherd but also as a historical figure of the early 20th century. One cannot help but feel that a number of historians who would read this volume might revise their harsh judgments written and spoken a quarter of a century ago about the pope who condemned Modernism. The book has forewords by Cardinals Hinsley and Hayes but no index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

NICHOLS, JEANNETTE P., PH.D. and ROY F. NICHOLS, PH.D., LITT.D. *The Growth of American Democracy.* [The Century Historical Series. William E. Lingelbach, Editor.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. Pp. xxiii, 819. $4.00.) This volume is compact, full of facts, and interesting. It traces the development of the United States from 1575, when the English began to come to America, up to 1939. It is a social, economic, and political history with the emphasis on the political side. Over sixty per cent of the book is devoted to the period following the Civil War; more than thirty-five per cent is given over to the period since 1900. It is well illustrated and contains in addition an ample supply of maps, graphs, and charts.

The book is divided into chronological periods with the following headings: Creating a Society, 1575-1763; Establishing Independence, 1763-1819; Multiplying and Dividing, 1819-1865; The New Sectionalism, 1865-1878; The Impact of Large Scale Organization, 1878-1900; The Progressive Era, 1900-1914; The United States in a World at War, 1914-1918; What Price Prosperity, 1918-1933; The New Deal, 1933–. These headings summarize the contents of the work. The appendix contains about 18 pages of bibliography for further reading, and a complete index of 42 pages.

The authors state the purpose of their book to be a description of American endeavors to establish the American ideal of democracy socially, economically, and politically. Practically nothing is said about the influence of the Spanish and the French in building America. Any history of American democracy is incomplete if it omits adequate consideration of the social, economic, and political elements contributed by the national groups other than the English.

The book gives a more comprehensive view of American life than is found in the older text books on American history. *The Growth of American Democracy* follows the newer cultural approach to American history. On the whole it avoids biased points of view very well. The various chapters can be depended upon to give a good, up-to-date summary of the period of American life under consideration. It minimizes or overlooks the importance of the southwest and the far west in the development of American democracy. In consequence American life along the Atlantic seaboard and in industrial centers is emphasized. However, it is well written and accurate. It should be a worthwhile addition to any library. (FRANK P. WEBERG)

OSTLENDER, DR. HEINRICH (Editor). *Peter Abaelards Theologia 'Summi Boni'*. (Münster: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Band xxxv, Heft 2/3. 1939. Pp. xxviii, 118. RM. 6.90.) Under the title *Theologia 'summi boni'*, Dr. Ostlender edits the complete text of the earliest theological work of Peter Abailard. His edition, based on the 12th century Berlin MS theol. lat. oct. 95, which he discovered in 1924, replaces the incomplete text of this work edited at Freiburg in 1891 by Remigius Stölzle from the 12th century Erlangen MS 182 (Irmischer 229) under the title *Tractatus de unitate et trinitate divina*. In consequence of finding the complete text the present editor has been able to answer questions on the origin, content and sources of this important treatise which Stölzle was obliged to leave unanswered.

Dr. Ostlender shows that Abailard called this work simply *Theologia*, the title by which it is designated in the Berlin MS. Other mentions of this treatise in mediaeval literature, from which Stölzle derived his title, refer to the content of the work and not to its original title. To distinguish this Abailardian treatise from the *Theologia christiana* and the *Theologia 'scholarium'* (*Introductio ad theologiam*) by the same author, Ostlender adds the 'summi boni', the first two words of the incipit.

The text in the Berlin MS (B) contains many passages which are lacking in the Erlangen MS (E). That these additional passages belong to Abailard and not to an interpolator is conclusively proved by the fact that all of them are found in the *Theologia christiana*. But the question arises, were these passages in the original work and for some reason dropped out of the Erlangen text, or were they later additions by the author? A close study of the MSS has led the editor to assert the second of these alternatives. B therefore represents a second redaction of the work. This working over of his writings is characteristic of Abailard, as Dr. Ostlender has shown elsewhere. In the revised text of B the author strives for ever greater precision. Nevertheless, many mistakes still remain, not a few of which are common to B and E. These indicate a common source of the two MSS, which are shown not to depend directly on one another. The word order frequently differs in them, and curiously enough of the text of the *Theologia christiana* sometimes agrees with the reading in B, sometimes with the reading in E.

It was this work that the Council of Soisson condemned in 1121. Its first redaction is therefore to be placed before that date. On the other hand, it could not have been written before 1118, the year in which Abailard began his theological teaching. The editor thinks 1120 the most probable year of its writing.

Though not the work written against Rocelinus, to which the latter refers in a letter to Abailard, the *Theologia 'summi boni'* is nevertheless closely connected with the controversy between these masters. This explains the attack it makes on the pseudo-dialecticians. It is not, however, a mere polemic against Roscelinus but a presentation of Abailard's theology. Divided into three books, its scope is limited to a discussion of the unity and trinity of the Godhead. In the solution of questions great use is made of grammar and of grammatical logic (*Sprachlogik*). This is important to note, because this method of resolving theological difficulties is largely employed by theo-

logians of the late 12th and early 13th century, among whom Peter of Poitiers perhaps deserves a special mention.

The sources of abailardian doctrine in this treatise are primarily John Scotus Eriugena and the School of Chartres, which was greatly influenced by Eriugena and platonic thought. The influence of William of Champeaux is uncertain, while the polemic of Anselm of Canterbury against Roscelinus was unquestionably known to Abailard but whether or not he utilized it is not definitely established. Finally, the anti-Jewish bias of this work shows its author to have been under the influence of such polemics as the *Tractatus adversus iudeum* written ca. 1060. His opposition to Jews and dialecticians (philosophers) gives to this treatise a distinct apologetic character, and the apologetic purpose of the author is expressly stated at the end of the work.

The critical text of Dr. Ostlender is based on the Berlin MS (B). In the critical apparatus are given variant readings from the Erlangen MS (E) and from the *Theologia christiana* (T). Where he has thought it necessary, however, the editor has adopted readings from E and T. The critical apparatus has three divisions: variant readings, designated according to the line on the page in which they occur; corresponding texts of the *Theologia christiana* in the *Patrologia latina*, 178; and notes on sources, indicated by arabic numerals. The editor, therefore, has not wholly followed the recommendations of the Union Academique Internationale for the editing of Latin texts. Moreover he introduces the sign > for omittit and the sign + for addit. Some may criticize Dr. Ostlender for this.

A table of contents at the beginning of the volume and an index of names and subject matter at the end complete this valuable addition to mediaeval literature critically edited which will be heartily welcomed by all students of the Middle Ages. (PHILIP A. MOORE)

PADOVER, SAUL K., PH.D., Formerly Research Associate in History, University of California. *The Life and Death of Louis XVI*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. Pp. xiv, 373. $3.75.) "The following pages contain the first full biography of Louis XVI in any language, based almost entirely on archive materials." (p. vii). The first reaction of the reader to that opening sentence of Dr. Padover's preface may be one of slight surprise. While there is general agreement that Louis XVI was a weak monarch confronted by a series of cataclysmic events which he was totally unfitted to meet and overcome, and that therefore the king played a quite unimportant rôle in the development of the Revolution, yet one might have expected that long before the 150th anniversary of the revolt of '89, some historian would have given us a full-length biography of the man who wore the crown in those perilous days. But such was not the case, and therefore we are indebted to Dr. Padover for focusing attention upon Louis XVI.

The author has written an excellent biography. If it lacks the flash and brilliance popular readers demand it can be attributed partly to the prosaic character of its subject, and partly to the sound historical sense of Dr. Padover who contents himself with a straightforward narrative in which the documents are permitted to speak frequently for themselves. Much of the material incorporated into the volume is from archival sources in Paris, Lon-

don, and Vienna. Though this new material has helped appreciably to fill in details on the king's policies and relations to his fellow sovereigns, his ministers, etc., it does not change the main lines of the impression of Louis with which we are all familiar. Dr. Padover has furnished a splendid classified bibliography which lists the documents used in the Archives Nationales, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the British Museum and Public Record Office in London, and Haus-Hof- und Staats-Archiv of Vienna. In two appendices the author prints Louis' last testament written in the Temple on Christmas Day, 1792, less than a month before he was guillotined, and a list of some of the typical pamphlets on the king from 1789 to 1793, thousands of which flooded Paris and France in those excited years. Moreover the book carries 52 admirable illustrations of persons and places prominent in the life of the king. An adequate index completes the volume.

One of the things that will give value to this book is the clearly-drawn vignettes of the ministers of Louis XVI. Dr. Padover describes the disadvantage from which the crown suffered from the outset of the reign by the character of the ministers chosen to serve it. Maurepas, Turgot, and Vergennes are treated in brief but deft touches (pp. 54-67). Nor does the author neglect the important Count Mercy-Argenteau, ambassador of Maria Theresa and Joseph II at Versailles (p. 27), and the American minister, Franklin, who as *l'ambassadeur électrique* carried all before him at the court (pp. 110-112).

If Louis the king was a pathetic figure, Louis the man was not without some winning qualities. Louis' failure as a sovereign was due to a large number of factors: his lack of proper training, decisiveness of judgment and will power, administrative inertia, preoccupation with hunting and physical exercise, docility to the opinions of those by whom he was surrounded, but above all to a genuine distaste for the business of kingship, a distaste which he was at no pains to conceal. We see Louis at his worst writing treasonable messages to the foreign powers at the same moment that he was proclaiming his devotion to France and the constitutional régime (pp. 248-249). Yet this fat, good-natured man was capable of strong decision on occasion, as for example when in a matter of only hours following Louis XV's death he dispatched Madame Dubarry and her family from Versailles (p. 50). On that he was adamant. It is regrettable that the king could not bring himself to exercise the same firmness with others. As a man Louis had much to recommend him. Dr. Padover's book is replete with examples of his kindly feeling towards all his subjects, his devotion and love for his wife and children, his deep humility in the face of the vulgar insults of the revolutionists, and above all his profound religious sense. One reads of his last hours spent with the non-juring Irish priest, Abbé Edgeworth de Firmont, to whom he made his confession, received Communion, and heard his mass on the morning of the execution, with the conviction that the regard of this man for his religion went deeper than surface conformity (pp. 326-334). Likewise the last will and testament is a document filled with sound piety and edifying charity and generosity towards his executioners (pp. 339-342). All told, Louis XVI was a very good man, too good to have been king of France in 1789.

A few slips occur in the printing. On p. viii read "after" for "aftter"; p. 26, "lad" for "led"; p. 117, eliminate the word "change" from the first sentence. Finally did the representative of the United States in the person of Thomas Jefferson enjoy the rank of "ambassador" in France at that time (p. 62)? (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

PARGELLIS, STANLEY, Assistant Professor of History, Yale University. *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle.* [American Historical Association, Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.] (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1936. Pp. xxxi, 514. $8.00.) These documents were selected from the papers in the Royal Archives, of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, second son of George II, who was captain general of the British army from 1745 to 1757. Cumberland sat in cabinets when American policy was discussed, and while his parliamentary followers conducted a vigorous anti-French policy in America, he himself thought Continental affairs more important and was not in sympathy with Pitt's policy.

About 400 papers in this collection bear upon American affairs. Less than 100 have been printed elsewhere, and more than 100 are unprinted letters and enclosures sent by Loudon: these are available also in the Huntington Library and to some extent in the Public Record Office. The materials fall into five groups: copies of documents from public officers relating to matters upon which Cumberland's official opinion was asked; copies of private letters sent to Cumberland because they contained information of military significance; letters from commanding officers or engineers under the Ordnance Board; letters of complaint or suggestion; and Cumberland's scanty private correspondence.

In addition to military matters the documents throw light on such problems as colonial currency, mercantilism, Penn's side of the dispute respecting his colony, the engineering problems of the West, etc. But more largely the papers possess intrinsic value to the military historian. To him is here given first-hand information concerning such primary problems as strategy and execution.

Professor Pargellis has written an interpretative introduction of solid merit into which he has put a great deal of his own scholarly observation. There are eight useful maps and two appendices: one a calendar of additional documents deemed of insufficient importance to justify printing in full, the other giving a proportion of brass ordnance, howitzers, and stores for the intended expedition to North America, October 12th, 1754. (LEO F. STOCK)

RAEMERS, SIDNEY A. *Bible History for the Use of Elementary Schools.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1939. Pp. 384. $0.75.) In the midst of an abundance of texts on the market, one may at first wonder why there should be another Bible history. Undoubtedly each one has its merits. But the text under review has certain things which set it off from the others. From the point of view of pedagogy it can be recommended. The brevity of the narrative in each chapter, the general appearance of the work, the addition of applications to the narrative of the story, the well-chosen pictures and, in

general, the language make this volume an attractive and profitable summary. In regard to the content there may be some room for diversity of opinion. Yet the principle followed by the author is solid, namely, he preferred to give greater space to the content of the New Testament than to that of the Old. Consequently, some of the Old Testament stories are omitted. Of the 372 pages, less than a third, or 111 pages are devoted to the events of the Old Law.

In regard to the events of the Old Law, the author does a very good job of paragraphing and at the same time retains the sequence of a story. The figures of the great heroes are made to stand out in bold relief, not only in print and in picture but also in manner of treatment. Moreover, the moral application which is frequently drawn makes the narrative more practical. However, scriptural scholars would pass some very severe criticisms on the Old Testament section from the point of view of accuracy.

In the New Testament there are fewer moral applications. The story is allowed to speak for itself and sufficient background is supplied to make the event or truth comprehensible to the child. The language does not often become heavy. Some words might have been explained, such as morality and the Passion. The journeys of St. Paul are also included.

In one or two cases the pictures may appear to be overdrawn, but one of the fine features of the book is the quality and distinctness of the picture to accompany the idea. It will not be difficult for the teacher to insist on visualization, for there are sufficient pictures to make that possible. The questions at the end of each chapter are not as practical as the applications in the text itself. They are merely memory questions. (WILLIAM H. RUSSELL)

REBA CAROLYN STRICKLAND. *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 211. $2.50.) Not a history of religion in Georgia but rather a study of how religion influenced the founding and development of the government and how the policies of the government in turn affected religion, this book is helpful to the student of American Catholic history in that it provides a picture of the rather hopeless situation in which Catholicism found itself in this state during colonial days. The history of religion in Georgia is traced through the four important periods of the 18th century: under the original trustees, during the time that Georgia was a royal province, during the revolution, and immediately after it. Throughout, there is the thread of a religious toleration which really did not exist, unless one ignores the fact that Catholics were discriminated against. Hence Georgia cannot merit for itself a place in the history of religious toleration in America comparable to that of Maryland or Pennsylvania. Nor does the notorious Oglethorpe deserve the treatment he gets in this study; in fact he is hardly recognizable. Failure to mention the periodic raids on the Christian missions of Florida forces one to believe that the author does not consider objectivity essential to history writing. Oglethorpe's intolerance cannot be passed over in any evaluation of his character, especially when one deals with his career in Georgia.

But more serious than even the utterly false picture of Oglethorpe is the author's failure to mention the presence of Christianity in Georgia before

either Oglethorpe or Methodism was born. For more than a century before Oglethorpe saw the Savannah, Christianity had been established in more than 40 mission centers in Georgia. All this is commonplace to historians of the Spanish borderlands. It cannot be passed over, although it may be regarded, as far as this work is concerned, merely background material.

Despite its omissions, however, this book is a welcome addition to the increasing number of studies dedicated to the rather sordid story of Protestant intolerance in all the American colonies with the exception of Pennsylvania. It should be noted, however, that there is a notable difference between the objectivity of this study and that of Sister Mary Augustina Ray's, of the same Columbia University Political Science Series. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

SCHMIDLIN, JOSEPH. *Histoire des Papes de l'Époque contemporaine*. Tome I, *La Papauté et les Papes de la Restauration (1800-1846)*. Première partie *Pius VII, le Pape de la Restauration (1800-1823)*. Traduction de L. Marchal. (Lyon et Paris: Librairie Emmanuel Vitte. 1938. Pp. xxxvi, 472.) All students of the history of the Church will welcome this French translation of the learned *Papstgeschichte der neuesten Zeit* of Monsignor Schmidlin, the first volume of which appeared in 1933. It is a work which deserves translation into all languages, since it is the only recent scholarly survey available of the papacy in the 19th century. It was intended as a continuation of Pastor's monumental work, and on the whole one can say that it is not an unworthy successor to Pastor's labors. Schmidlin's history appeared in three volumes in the original German edition between 1933 and 1935. The French translator, L. Marchal, professor in the Grand Seminary at Nancy, has determined upon a division of the author's first volume into two parts, each covering a period of twenty-three years. The first part of Volume I, here under review, is confined to the pontificate of Pius VII; the second part will cover the reigns of Leo XII, Pius VIII, Gregory XVI and bring the story down to the election of Pius IX in 1846.

One of the genuinely notable features of this volume is the introductory essay on the sources for the period from 1800 to 1846. The author has given a splendid critical summary of the literature in the field, properly classified as to archival collections, printed sources, contemporary histories, and recent works. To this essay is added a bibliography which is arranged alphabetically according to authors and editors, but unclassified as to the character of the items mentioned. In this bibliography of over 8 pages are found but 5 items in English; one notes the absence of important recent monographs such as Henry H. Walsh's *The Concordat of 1801*, (1933), and the volume of Joseph H. Brady, *Rome and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820-1821*, published in 1937 after Schmidlin's work was finished. G. Lacour-Gayet's four-volume definitive biography, *Talleyrand*, is likewise of importance to the student of papal history in Pius VII's reign for the light it throws on the relations of France to the Holy See in these years.

Every page bears witness to the wide reading and conscientious research conducted by Monsignor Schmidlin in preparing his manuscript. Scholars could scarcely ask for more thorough documentation. The index is adequate and the translation in the main runs smoothly, although it would have been

better to break up some of the lengthy sentences from the original German which were carried over bodily and constitute in some cases good-sized paragraphs (p. 444).

The spirit in which Pastor wrote his history of the popes in the first four centuries of the modern era is not missing here. Schmidlin displays an admirable objectivity even when treating incidents which might well prove a strain upon the strict neutrality of a prelate-historian. The reviewer has in mind especially the facts set down in the long chapter, "Restauration catholique dans les pays latins" (pp. 221-255), and the sections of the chapter, "Relations avec l'Allemagne" (pp. 256-335), dealing with the so-called Catholic states of the German world. The reader will here find excellent evidence for the treachery, meanness, and anti-clerical if not anti-Catholic conduct of the supposedly Catholic states. He finishes these chapters with the distinct impression that the papacy fared about as well in dealing with Prussia, England, or Hanover as it did with France, Spain, Portugal, or Bavaria. Pius VII and Cardinal Consalvi manifested an uncommon spirit of patience and conciliation in carrying through the negotiations for concordats with these princes and ministers who presided over the destinies of the so-called Catholic countries in the first years of the 19th century. The "century of light" had done its work well and the heirs were true to their legacy of a state-throttled church.

A number of misprints and minor errors have shown up in the book. For example Castlereagh was not the "chancelier" of Great Britain in 1814 but the secretary of state for foreign affairs (p. 168); on p. 309, note 14 one should read 'Pacca' for 'Pasca'. The title of Father Hughes's work is incorrectly given as *The Catholic Questions, 1699-1829* instead of *The Catholic Question, 1689-1829* (p. 371, note 3); one should read 'O'Connell' for 'O'Conor' in note 17, p. 374.

Students of the British Isles will probably not be pleased in finding the Catholic history of their countries discussed in 10 pages of a chapter entitled, "Les autres États germaniques." Readers in the United States will likewise have to remind themselves of our relative unimportance in the days of Pius VII to be content with the 3 pages (pp. 400-403) and the single brief paragraph on p. 426 allotted by the author to a treatment of the Church in our republic during this pontificate. The dependence of Dr. Schmidlin upon the publications of John Gilmary Shea for much of his account of the Church in this country, with only a passing reference buried in a footnote (p. 400, note 45) to the volumes of Monsignor Guilday, is likewise unfortunate. However, the criticisms mentioned are but minor ones in a work which is a credit to the scholarship and industry of its author, and all students of the Church of the last century will be anxious for the widest dissemination of this work in as many languages as possible. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

SCHMIDT, WILHELM, S. V. D. *Primitive Revelation.* Translated by Joseph J. Baierl, S. T. D. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1939. Pp. ix, 309. $2.75.) A volume by Father Schmidt always attracts the attention of students of man. Those who are acquainted with his earlier works will recognize, however, that this is not really a new book. It is chiefly based on a publication

issued at least 16 years ago: *Die Uroffenbarung als Anfang der Offenbarungen Gottes.* But the translator also incorporated material from Schmidt's monumental *Ursprung der Gottesidee,* and from the translation of his famous handbook, published in 1930 under the title *The Origin and Growth of Religion, Facts and Theories.*

The translator has done his work well and deserves the thanks of all students who would have found the original difficult reading. Translations of German works on anthropology, with their own scientific terminology, are admittedly extremely difficult. The book now forms a precious addition to our literature of apologetics.

The exegetist will turn to this volume to learn the views of an outstanding Catholic ethnologist on the possibility of primitive revelation on the past history of man; on the proofs from ethnology and the history of religion as to the historical actuality of that revelation, and on the decay of primitive religion.

Time was when such topics were naïvely considered by rationalists as their exclusive domain. The advent of Schmidt and a band of scholars trained in his method has changed this strange preconception. The *Festschrift* presented to Father Schmidt in 1928 shows the esteem in which he is held by his colleagues in anthropology.

Some readers may look for more outspoken views on the value of *Genesis* from the anthropologic viewpoint; but they will read with satisfaction the following statements: "In view of the diversity, and often absolute contradiction of the theories presented, it is clear that the doctrine of man's animal descent is not supported by incontrovertible evidence, as many would have us believe. At any rate, the concrete starting point at which the human race is supposed to have originated, is highly nebulous." (pp. 58-59). (ALBERT MUNTSCH)

SCUDI, ABBIE TURNER. *The Sacheverell Affair.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 170. $2.25.) In 1710 the Whig government of Queen Anne prosecuted a certain Dr. Henry Sacheverell, a clergyman who believed that he was preserving the time-honored doctrines of the Established Church by his preaching, and that implicit devotion to the Church would best protect the queen and the traditions of the English monarchy. In both his writings and sermons he advocated the high church and Tory cause, and violently abused dissenters, low churchmen, latitudinarians and Whigs. A high church Tory was faced with a dilemma if, like Sacheverell, he believed that toleration of dissent endangered the Church because such a person could easily be charged with disloyalty to the crown, since the crown was responsible for the administration of the Church. Again, adherence to the old and extreme Tory doctrines of "passive obedience" and "non-resistance" could scarcely be reconciled, as the Whigs clearly perceived, with the revolution of 1688. Strong public feeling supported Sacheverell and the incident of his impeachment before the House of Lords "for High Crimes and Misdemeanors" became a test of strength between the Whigs and Tory parties. The trial resulted in Sacheverell's conviction; but the sentence was so mild that it was considered a triumph. In the same year the Tories defeated the Whigs by a

three to one majority. The queen took this opportunity to change her ministers and to choose those who were not only pleasing to her, but to the country and to the high church party. The Sacheverell affair therefore unwittingly aided in the establishment of a new precedent which was destined to become an integral part of the concept of parliamentary government.

The present monograph is the first complete account of the affair which carefully analyzes the position of Sacheverell and the Whig ministers and their respective influences on parliament and the country. In considering the impeachment, Dr. Scudi agrees with Edmund Burke that the cabinet was justified in its action and that the trial "was carried on for the express purpose of stating the true grounds and principles of the Revolution." This thoroughly documented work contains an excellent bibliography of twenty-five pages and a good index. (JOHN J. O'CONNOR)

SNAVELY, HENRY E. *The Constitution of the United States: How To Know Its Provisions.* (Wilmington: Star Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. 436. $1.50. Circulated by the American Liberty League of Delaware, this work is designed to give a detailed knowledge of the exact provisions of the constitution. It consists of twelve hundred carefully selected questions, all drawn from the constitution, divided into four groups of three hundred questions each. There are multiple choice selections, yes and no and no and yes questions and incomplete statements. The questions in each group cover the same material as in the other three groups with, of course, a different method of testing employed. After each of the groups the answers for the questions are given in tabulated form. Recognizing the inadequacy of this method of approach, for a truer understanding of the constitution, the author has added certain brief notes upon that document which deal with matters of broad constitutional principle. The tests have been used in high school classes in American history and civics and are recommended by the author for graduate courses in constitutional law. According to the author, the tests "resulted in the conclusion that this approach was more interesting to the students, that the study guide and testing features were very effective for their respective purposes." As valuable as the tests may be for acquainting the high school student with a knowledge of specific constitutional content, it is to be seriously doubted that this method of approach unless used in conjunction with the ordinary materials in the courses in civics and American government will prove valuable for the student who would understand the American system of government. Certainly the student of constitutional law would find the work immature for his purposes. (JOHN L. MCMAHON)

SUTHERLAND, STELLA H. *Population Distribution in Colonial America.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. xxxii, 353. $4.00.) In this study Miss Sutherland has essayed the difficult task of showing, not only the distribution of population in the Revolutionary era, but also of securing population statistics for a date as near 1775 as possible. State capitols, archives of historical societies, public and private libraries were searched for census returns or substitutes for such returns, and from the collected data were prepared dot maps of the colonies, each dot representing fifty persons.

Unfortunately these maps, because of density of population in certain areas, give but a general impression, and scarcely admit of detailed calculation. But frequent statistical tables overcome this defect. Miss Sutherland estimates the entire population in the period to have been 2,507,180—a number arrived at through examination of census returns, tax lists, head grants, and mere estimates. The methods employed and the difficulties met with are fully explained in the introduction.

Several studies have heretofore been made on this subject. One omitted from Miss Sutherland's list and consideration is Dr. Paullin's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (especially pp. 41-42). Another source apparently not used are the reports of the Board of Trade which were periodically made to parliament and which contain frequent estimates of population and other information throwing light on the question.

It is questionable whether the study called for such a detailed description as is given of the elementary and self-evident factors governing settlement: climate, topography, soil fertility, pursuits, etc. A certain amount of this was perhaps necessary. It was pertinent also to call attention to the methods employed to restrict immigration of the non-favored groups, such as Jews, Quakers, and Catholics (*e.g.*, pp. 44 etc.). But to those who will use the book the circumstances of settlement are well known, and the number of bushels of grain raised or exported and the number of head of cattle, all set forth in great detail, would seem to have little connection with the subject. The result is as much an economic history of the colonies as a study of population. But the statistical tables and maps are worth while. (Leo F. Stock)

Trevelyan, George Macaulay, O.M. *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782-1919)*. Ned Edition. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. Pp. xvi, 512. $3.50.) To compass in one volume a picture of change and development during one hundred and twenty years was the original objective of Professor Trevelyan when this volume was first published about fifteen years ago. The new edition of the work presents a narrative history of the British Empire that is most absorbingly interesting. Around Great Britain as the center the author skilfully weaves the story of the political developments, social and religious changes as well as the economic evolution of Great Britain as the focus of the Empire. With the first inventions and the harnessing of capital in Great Britain during the 19th century the world received the impetus that set into action the great economic forces controlling it today. An imposing array of personalities connected with this change are brought before the reader. These enliven the narrative and give it a human touch. When John Louden Macadam and Thomas Telford "had covered the island with a network of hard, smooth roads trimly-built stage-coaches made their appearance." (pp. 166-167). Jovial old England, always matter-of-fact but still full of romance and color, emerges. Interest in "sporting events and characters was almost universal but passion for organized athletics did not dominate the upper classes" (p. 171) until the reform in education made its appearance at Rugby under Dr. Thomas Arnold. The interesting fashion in which Professor Trevelyan pictures every phase of English development makes the story pulsate with life.

Four chapters which have been added to this new edition as an epilogue continue the narrative from 1902 to 1919. Even though, as the author states, these chapters have been added on the grounds of educational utility" (p. viii), they really do not appreciably increase the usefulness of the volume which, as Mr. Trevelyan says, closes with the deaths of Queen Victoria and Lord Salisbury. Since the reader's interest is easily maintained for the century the epilogue might better have been embodied into a history of the present century.

An appendix consisting of Notes on Enclosures of Land; Leading Events Since the War and Members of Ministries, 1770-1937, adds to the value of the book as a reference work. There is also a good index and a classified bibliography. (SISTER REGINA BASKA)

WOLF, A. *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. 814. $8.00.) In this volume Professor Wolf continues the account of certain aspects of modern thought and activity begun in his earlier work on the 16th and 17th centuries. From various sources he has compiled a large amount of material that is of interest and value. The titles of the main subjects indicate the scope and nature of the work. In the section on science are included chapters on mathematics, mechanics, astronomy, astronomical and marine instruments, light, sound, heat, electricity and magnetism, meteorology and meteorological instruments, chemistry, geology, geography, botany, zoology and medicine. The chapters on technology discuss agriculture, textiles, building, transport, power plant and machinery, the steam-engine, mining and metallurgy, industrial chemistry, lenses and specula, mechanical calculators and telegraphy. There are also chapters on psychology and the social sciences. The many illustrations, 345 in all, add greatly to the work.

As far as the history of philosophy is concerned the title of the book is misleading. Eighteenth-century philosophy is discussed in two chapters made up of fifty-four pages. No mention is made of Bishop Butler or Vico. Out of a total of fifty-four pages on the philosophy of the century of Berkeley, Hume and Kant, Moses Mendelssohn receives two pages and Voltaire six. Voltaire is described as "a crusading philosopher". Professor Wolf thinks that in Voltaire "the claims of justice constituted the fundamental conviction which prompted his deistic outlook, and directed his life's activity." "For him, truth and justice were blended most intimately; and he was not a cloistered bookworm, but a fighter who fought for his convictions. . . . Hence his merciless onslaught on Catholic doctrine and the fanatical intolerance and oppression for which he blamed it." There is more of this, followed by a homily on the condition of the modern world. The conclusion both to the homily and the volume runs: "Once more the world urgently needs a Voltaire, indeed a whole army of Voltaires, to fight against the new forms of darkness and fanaticism which threaten to destroy civilization."

Professor Wolf evinces not the faintest perception of the fact that these "new forms of darkness and fanaticism" to which he makes reference are in no small measure the product of Voltaire and the Voltaireans. In a vein that has become commonplace in recent years he writes of the threatened destruc-

tion of civilization, but he does not seem to inquire what is the essential nature of that civilization and what are its real causes. If a civilization and culture are in danger today, it is that same Christian civilization and culture that Voltaire is applauded for attacking. If Professor Wolf's racial fellows have suffered certain trials of which he is no doubt thinking, is it not at the hands of neo-pagans such as Voltaire himself was and sought to produce? Today a whole army of Voltaires is abroad, and today, as in the 18th century, their whole real enemy is the Catholic Church. In her they rightly see the sole defender of man's rights and duties, his dignities and liberties. (JOHN K. RYAN)

WYCKOFF, VERTREES J., Associate Professor of Economics, St. John's College. *Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Extra Volumes, New Series, No. 22.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1936. Pp. 228. $2.25.) This contribution to the knowledge of economic life in colonial Maryland, based mostly upon materials in the Library of Congress and in the various libraries of Maryland, is well done. As the title indicates, the "regulation" refers to the action of the Maryland assembly, and is only indirectly concerned with the more general prohibitory measures of crown or parliament. There is, for example, not a single reference in footnote or bibliography to the *Journals* of either house of parliament nor to any of the statutes at large.

In discussing his subject, Professor Wyckoff points out that in the beginning the cross-currents of mercantilism, pioneer individualism, and the antagonism of social-economic classes affected the bare elements of provincial existence. The efforts to control the crop were "spasmodically successful". Progress by the planters in the processes of curing and marketing their staple was to a great extent offset by the delay in shipping any by the consignment custom of the time. The types of tobacco raised were but two, and there was little experimenting in other kinds. Comparisons are drawn with present-day methods of regulation, and the author's conclusion is that "there are today few fundamental agricultural experiences, the bases for which were not indicated in those earlier years." (LEO F. STOCK)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Co-operation between the High School and the Local Historical Society. J. Ira Kreider (*Pennsylvania History*, Oct.).

Entre el individuo y el estado. J. Azpiazu (*Razón y Fe*, Sept.-Oct.).

The Spirit of Democracy. Luigi Sturzo (*Preservation of the Faith*, Dec.).

Can the Star of the Magi Give Us the Date of Christ's Birth? John J. Collins, S.J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, Dec.).

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